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ART. I.—PLUTARCH: HIS LIFE, CHARACTER, AND TIMES.

Plutarch on the Delay of the Deity in the Punishment of the Wicked. With Notes by H. B. HACKETT, Professor of Biblical Literature in Newton Theological Institution. Andover: Published by Allen, Morrill, & Wardwell. New-York: Mark H. Newman. 1844.

PROFESSOR HACKETT has done good service at once to classical and theological learning, by this beautiful edition of one of the best treatises of the great Grecian moralist. The editor was formerly professor of the Greek and Latin languages in Brown University. He is now professor of Biblical literature in the Theological Institution at Newton. In the work before us he has treasured up choice and ripe fruits from his studies in both these departments. Every page breathes the spirit of the scholar, while, at the same time, it is fragrant with a purer incense than was ever offered to the gods of Helicon or Olympus. We love to see the bards and sages of Pagan antiquity thus ministering at the altar of Jehovah, and human wisdom returning to do homage at its source, even as the streams all flow back to the ocean,

“Whence all the rivers, all the seas have birth,
And every fountain, every well on earth.”

It is the glory of some of the ripest scholars both of the Old and the New World, that they have consecrated their classical learning to the illustration of the Bible and the honour of religion. They could not devote it to a more sacred cause, nor could they bring a more appropriate offering. The New Testament was written in Greek; and they only who are masters of the original language, possess the key by which they can open to view all its hidden beauties, and bring forth for use all its concealed treasures. Christianity had its origin when the Greek language was almost universally spoken,—

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when the Roman Empire was almost co-extensive with the known world. Its history and literature are thus indissolubly interwoven with the literature and history of Greece and Rome. The stream flows indeed fast by our homes and firesides. It waters our fields and gardens. It gladdens the cities of our God. We and our children bathe in its sacred waters, and drink from it life, health, love, and all sweet charities. But the fountain lies in a distant land; and, if we would keep the stream pure, if we would not, ere we are aware, find it poisoned, and drink from it pollution and death, we must have men who are able to trace it to its source and guard the fountain,—men who are acquainted with the geography and history of the country, familiar with its language, manners, and customs, and in all respects, so far as possible, on an equal footing with the native inhabitants,—men in whom profound learning and believing piety reign in such harmony and perfection, that they can reproduce in themselves, and help to reproduce in others, not only the outward circumstances, but the inward spirit of those holy men of old, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Too often, indeed, the one or the other of these equally essential elements is sadly deficient in those who have attempted to combine classical with Biblical literature. The spirit of patient research and accurate observation on the one hand, or that of pious reverence and holy love for the mysteries of religion on the other, has been defective, if not wholly wanting. But we think Professor Hackett remarkably free from this charge. Alike familiar with the Bible and the classics, he has an eye to see the beauties of both, and a heart to feel their power. He lavishes no extravagant panegyrics on either. Still less does he look upon either with frigid indifference. He never puts down the one, that he may put up the other. Neither does he overlook their distinctive features, confound their characteristic elements, and place them on the same common level. He indulges in no far-fetched analogies, no overstrained contrasts, but holds the balance with an even hand, and calmly points out the real resemblances and the real differences, whether in language, doctrine, or spirit,—at an equal remove from the frigid rationalist, who sits in judgment on the word of God as if it were the reasonings or the conjectures of man, and from the bigoted theologian, who regards all the beauty and excellence conceded to Pagan literature and philosophy as so much detracted from the glory of the Christian revelation.

The Notes were designed particularly for the use of theological students. And they are admirably adapted to this end. The sentiments and the language of the author are constantly viewed from the stand-point of the Bible, and are thus made to shed light on its

idioms, its constructions, and its doctrines. Nor could a better writer have been selected for this purpose than Plutarch, or a more suitable treatise than the *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*. The author belongs to the same century, and wrote in the same dialect, (Hebraisms excepted,) in which all the books of the New Testament were written. His Greek, like that of the New Testament, has lost the purity, ease, and elegance of Plato and the earlier classics; while, on the other hand, his ethics and philosophy have gained a degree of moral excellence and elevation which can scarcely be found in any other Pagan author. The subject also—Providence, or the Moral Government of God, as connected with the Punishment of the Wicked—is kindred to the subject matter of the Scriptures, and lies at the very foundations of natural as well as revealed religion. It is treated in the main with such soundness of doctrine, such cogency of argument, and such completeness of illustration, that, as Professor Hackett justly remarks, even Christian writers who have attempted to defend the same truth within the same limits of natural religion, have scarcely been able to do anything better than to re-affirm his positions, and perhaps amplify and illustrate somewhat his arguments. At the same time, the author falls into such occasional errors, and, even when his doctrines are true and his arguments sound, proceeds with so much hesitation and uncertainty, as to furnish a striking contrast to the unerring truth and unhesitating, authoritative revelations of the sacred oracles. Surely it cannot but be a matter of deep interest and profound instruction for the theological student, while studying these oracles in their original tongue, to read in the same language a treatise, written in the same age, on a kindred subject, by a moralist whose vast learning and singular devoutness fitted him, perhaps above all others, to be a favourable exponent of the utmost success to which the heathen ever attained in vindicating the ways of God to men. We could wish that not only theological students, but theologians, were more accustomed to study the Scriptures in the original, and to study them in the light of such classic authors as Plato and Xenophon, Plutarch and Epictetus, Cicero and Seneca. While they thus learned to be more charitable in some respects towards the ancients, they would also attain to a far better understanding and higher appreciation of those sacred books, which they justly revere as the only unerring rule of faith and practice.

But, though peculiarly adapted to the theological seminary, we should not do justice to our own convictions, did we not add that this edition of Plutarch is also well suited to college use. The references to the sacred writers are not tiresome to any thoughtful

youth who has received a Christian education. On the contrary, they add to the interest with which he reads the work. The argument is close and rigid, approaching even to demonstration. The Greek is difficult, being a singular union of the rhetorical with the logical, the declamatory with the philosophical style. But these very peculiarities fix attention and concentrate effort; and these very difficulties, when mastered, fasten the treatise indelibly on the memory. The writer does not speak unadvisedly. He has used the work as a text-book with several college classes; and seldom, if ever, has he known classes study any author with deeper interest, or pass a more satisfactory examination at the end. We recommend it as a wholesome intellectual and moral discipline, like Seneca and Tacitus, writers of the same age, for young men, whether in the theological seminary or the college; and we wish again to express our obligation to Professor Hackett for the excellent taste and judgment, as well as the great learning and accuracy, with which he has edited it.

Should he have occasion to issue a new edition—as we hope, not only for his own satisfaction, but for the sake of classical and sacred learning, he may be encouraged to do—he will doubtless correct some errors in the text, particularly in the punctuation, and make some amendments, as well as additions, to the Notes. The requisite historical and archæological information is furnished so fully, that scarcely anything more can be desired; or, if desired, it is only because it cannot be found, and we must be content to remain in ignorance. But we think some grammatical and exegetical helps might be added with advantage, not indeed in the form of extended translation, which is the bane of linguistic study, but rather of brief hints touching the meaning of words, and clews to their proper construction, together with a more copious illustration of those peculiarities of style which characterize the age and the author.

But we must close these criticisms. The errors are comparatively few and unimportant, while we might dilate to any extent on the merits of the work. But commendation and correction are alike aside from our main purpose. We wish to avail ourselves of this opportunity to introduce our readers to a more familiar acquaintance with the *Life, and Character, and Times* of the great historian and moralist, whose writings have afforded instruction and delight to so many English readers, and have contributed indirectly to the knowledge, virtue, and heroism of so many more, who have never read his works, but who have derived from them, through various media, a sort of popular acquaintance with the worthies of classical antiquity;—even as the popular mind has become insensi-

bly imbued with the knowledge of astronomy, drawn primarily from the works of Copernicus and Galileo, Kepler and Newton. At some future time we may resume the subject, and give some more particular account of the *Writings* of Plutarch, especially of his treatise on the "Delay of the Deity in Punishing the Wicked."

Plutarch was a native of Chæronea, in Bœotia. It was a small town, and, as he himself complains,* furnished few facilities for his early education or his subsequent literary labours. But he chose to live there, lest, as he playfully and somewhat proudly says,† it should become still smaller; assured that virtue does not depend on locality, and that industry can make amends for unfavourable circumstances. The result justified his assurance. His heart became the shrine of all the virtues. His memory was instead of libraries and museums. He garnered up in himself the literary treasures and curiosities of Italy and of Greece, and, with himself, deposited them in Chæronea; and that little place owes its celebrity not less to the genius and learning of this favourite son, than to several bloody battles fought there, on which was suspended the fate of armies and of nations. The Chæroneans were not only few, but mean and servile. Antony's soldiers used them as beasts of burden, and obliged them to carry their corn upon their shoulders to the coast.‡ His native country, too, was proverbial for the stupidity of its inhabitants. During the nine or ten centuries that intervened between the poet-philosopher of Ascra, (and *he* was a native of *Æolis*,) and the historian-philosopher of Chæronea, Bœotia produced no distinguished writer, with the illustrious exception of Pindar; and contributed little in civil life to illustrate or adorn human nature, except the philosophical heroism of Epaminondas. Hesiod complains of the climate.§ Plutarch lays the blame on the beef-eating propensities of the people.|| Perhaps the soil also should come in for a share, for it was among the richest in all Greece. Whatever may have been the cause, the fact is, that Bœotia was more fruitful in corn and wine than in statesmen or scholars; and we fancy that we see the sober, practical, utilitarian influence of the country even in Hesiod and Plutarch. How much the historical celebrity of a place, so often the battle-field of Greeks and Romans, may have given direction or imparted stimulus to the early thoughts of our historian, we cannot determine.

His family, which was ancient and highly respectable, had long lived in the same place;¶ and, for several generations, had been

* Life of Demosthenes.

† Ibid.

‡ Life of Antony.

§ Works and Days.

|| On Animal Food.

¶ Symposiaca.

marked for an observing and reflecting turn of mind, which, while it took note of passing events, also inclined more or less to study and literary pursuits. Having held the most considerable offices in the magistracy of the place, they were in a position to become acquainted with public affairs; and our historian records important facts which he had from the lips of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, with all of whom it was his happiness to be personally conversant. His great-grandfather, Nicarchus, saw the misfortunes of his fellow-citizens under the severe discipline of Antony's soldiers. His grandfather, Lamprias, was our historian's authority, though at second hand, for some facts illustrative of Antony's luxury and extravagance in Egypt.* Plutarch describes him as a man of great eloquence, and of a brilliant imagination. "He was distinguished" (to adopt Langhorne's† sympathizing version of the man's character) "by his merit as a convivial companion; and was one of those happy mortals, who, when they sacrifice to Bacchus, are favoured by Mercury. His good-humour and pleasantry increased with his cups; and he used to say, that wine had the same effect upon him that fire has on incense, which causes the finest and richest essences to evaporate. Plutarch has mentioned his father likewise, but has not given us his name in any of those writings that have come down to us. However, he has borne honourable testimony to his memory; for he tells us that he was a learned and a virtuous man, well acquainted with the philosophy and theology of his time, and conversant with the works of the poets." Plutarch himself would seem to have inherited the good qualities of both these ancestors. He was genial, imaginative, and eloquent, like his grandfather; he possessed in still larger measure the learning and the virtues of his father. Plutarch had two brothers, one of whom, Lamprias, with the name, inherited also the lively disposition of his grandfather; while the other, Timon, seems to have been of a more serious and thoughtful cast. The latter he introduces as a colloquist in his *Symposiaca*, and as one of the interlocutors in the *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*; and in his treatise on Fraternal Affection, he reckons the unwavering attachment and kindness of this brother among the chief felicities of his happy life.

The time of Plutarch's birth cannot be definitely ascertained; though, from circumstantial evidence derived from his own writings, it may be set down with confidence at or near the middle of the first century after Christ. In the year 66 A. D., when Nero visited Greece, he tells us‡ he was studying mathematics and philosophy

* Life of Antony.

† Life of Plutarch.

‡ Concerning the *Et* at Delphi.

under Ammonius at Delphi. In the reign of Domitian he was lecturing at Rome, with such hearers as Arulenus Rusticus, the Stoic,* whom Domitian put to death for having dared to write a eulogy on the virtuous Pætus Thrasea. It is not improbable that the edict by which the same tyrant banished all philosophers, A. D. 94, may have put an end to Plutarch's stay at Rome. Quite certain it is, that, after having spent some time at the capital, and visited many parts of Italy, he returned, still in the prime of life, to spend the residue of his days in the place of his nativity. Here he passed through the whole series of useful and honourable offices, from that of superintendent of sewers and public buildings to that of archon, or chief magistrate, with the same self-forgetful and patriotic devotion to the public welfare which had led him to fix his residence in that obscure town,—believing that real merit derives no additional dignity from the highest station, but sheds lustre on the lowest. His apology for condescending to such humble offices is in the true spirit of the Baconian philosophy; and his language strongly reminds us of that noble passage in the writings of Lord Bacon himself, in which he vindicates his willingness to forego the dignity of genius and a great name, and to be an operative or wood-carrier instead of an architect in science and philosophy, provided he may but subserve the interests of mankind. The genuine humility, the almost Christian philanthropy, of such men as Socrates and Plutarch, should alone suffice to silence the sweeping charge so indiscriminately made by some against the Grecian philosophy, that it disdained to be useful. Together with these civil dignities, he also took upon himself the sacerdotal office, as priest of Apollo;—thus manifesting, what is apparent in all his works, that his piety was not less sincere and devoted than his patriotism and philanthropy.

It is stated by Langhorne, Enfield, and others, and indeed long passed current for authentic history, that Plutarch was the preceptor of the Emperor Trajan, and received from him the office of consul at Rome. But the authority, when traced to its source, proves worthless; and the statement, hardly probable in its relation to Roman usages, or to the comparative ages of the two men, (for Trajan was probably as old a man as Plutarch,) is quite irreconcilable with the conclusions which may be incidentally derived from some of his writings. His *Apophthegms*, which are dedicated to Trajan, make no allusion either to the preceptorship or the consulship. Langhorne denies the genuineness of the *Apophthegms*, though they are altogether in the style and spirit of Plutarch, and relies on a letter which purports to

* On Curiosity.

have been addressed by Plutarch to his pupil, Trajan, on the accession of the latter to the imperial chair, though that letter is found only in the *Latin* of John of Salisbury, and bears on the face of it every mark of being a forgery. It were difficult to find a more palpable instance of a critical judgment being biased by a preconceived opinion, or by a favourite object to be accomplished. Langhorne thinks the honour of having stood in so intimate a relation to so virtuous a prince too important a point to be hastily given up. But the fame of Plutarch rests on no such doubtful, and, at best, accidental circumstances. Whether or not a man who stands acknowledged among the ablest and most approved teachers of mankind, was the preceptor of a Roman emperor, is a trifling question. So at least we must view it, in an age when rank and title are little appreciated, and he is honoured as the real prince, who can sway a wide and lasting influence over the minds of men; and so, we think, it would have been esteemed by Plutarch himself. Still less does it concern himself or his readers, whether he who has swayed the sceptre over the minds and hearts of millions for eighteen centuries, wielded a little brief authority in some obscure province, or even in the proud capital of the Roman empire. Besides this letter in a language which Plutarch never learned to write,* the only authority for this alleged elevation of Plutarch is a short notice in Suidas, which Professor Long† pronounces to be of no value, though, at the same time, he seems to admit the possibility that the Apophthegms (which are cited as counter authority) may not be genuine. But even if we admit that the Apophthegms were not written by Plutarch, it is quite incredible, if he had been the preceptor of Trajan, and promoted by him to the consulship, that not a trace of the fact should be found in any of his other works, while those works abound in allusions to far less prominent incidents in the author's personal history.

From a slight circumstance, which he misinterprets, Langhorne infers that the *Moralia* of Plutarch were written at Rome, and his *Parallel Lives* at Chæronea. And yet he has not advanced half a dozen pages before he quotes a passage from one of these same Moral Essays, (that on Curiosity,) in which the author says:—"When I was lecturing at Rome," &c., thus showing that he had now left Rome, and was already in his retirement at Chæronea. The *Parallel Lives*, we know, from the author's direct testimony,‡ were written at Chæronea. The Apophthegms refer to the *Parallel Lives* as a previous composition, and therefore *they* (the Apophthegms) could

* Life of Demosthenes.

† Smith's Dict. of Biog., art. Plutarchus.

‡ Life of Demosthenes.

not have been written at Rome. The same has just been proved of the treatise on Curiosity. And all the evidence we have on the subject goes to show, that, though Plutarch doubtless collected many of his materials in connexion with his lectures and travels in Italy, his Moral Essays, as well as his historical works, were chiefly the productions of his maturer years, after his retirement from the imperial city to the humble town that gave him birth.

If we endeavour to follow our philosopher into this tranquil retreat, and to trace, as we would fain do in connexion with the public history of every great man, the under-current of his private and his intellectual life, we shall find but few helps in the effort—but few data on which we may calculate any very valuable result. We have no auto-biography, such as, Tacitus informs us, many distinguished men of his own and former times dared to write, though few such have come down to us—no familiar letter of a nephew or intimate friend, like that in which the younger Pliny describes in minute detail the private life and studies of his uncle—no monument of filial affection, such as the grateful and pious Tacitus reared to the memory of his father-in-law, Agricola—no domestic portraiture, or personal sketch, or incidental allusion even, by any of his numerous contemporaries; for in those days, when there was no press to multiply copies of books at a trifling expense, and no steam-travel to bring together distant provinces, writers in general knew comparatively little of each other, and a Greek philosopher, writing in an obscure town of Bœotia, was little likely to be visited or even named by authors who for the most part basked in the sunshine of the imperial court, or at least breathed the air of the metropolis. We must therefore rest satisfied with such glimpses of his private life as are reflected here and there from his own works.

The cares of office do not seem to have worn upon him, nor the concerns of business to have consumed much of his time or strength. Placed above the pressure of want by the wealth of his family, his house was the abode of plenty, but not of extravagance. He was temperate in his diet,—almost a Pythagorean in abstinence from animal food. Yet he was no gloomy ascetic, still less an anchorite either of literature or religion. He enjoyed the good creatures of God with thankfulness, and delighted in all the sweet charities of domestic and social life. Impelled by no necessity, he studied and wrote only when and as he chose, and gave the result to the world because he felt that the world needed it, would be benefited by it, and would not soon let it die. At the same time, his voluminous works, greatly reduced in number by the lapse of time, but still second to those of no Greek author in compass or variety, and richly fraught with learning and re-

flection, indicate, not a painfully laborious, but an eminently studious and industrious life. When the labours of each day were ended,—for we doubt not his studies were daily and systematic,—he found rest and recreation in the bosom of an affectionate and happy family, for whom he cherished the most tender regard, and who seem to have been worthy of his devoted love. His wife, Timoxena, was a native of Chæronea. At what time he married her, whether before or after his visit to Rome, does not appear. Six children, four sons and two daughters,* were the fruit and the ornament of this marriage. Three of them, however, died before their parents,—first two of the sons, then the favourite daughter, who bore her mother's name and died in infancy. This affliction drew from the father a consolation addressed to the mother, which reflects equal honour upon both, and reveals in beautiful unison two hearts of true parental tenderness, penetrated with the sincerest grief, yet calmed by the maxims of a sound philosophy, and even animated with the hopes of a trustful piety. Of the other daughter we know not even the name. We only know that Plutarch had a son-in-law, Patrocleas, who is mentioned in the *Symposiaca*, (Lib. vii, Quæst. 2,) and appears as one of the speakers in the *Dialogue, De Sera Numinis Vindicta*.† Three out of four of the characters, in this most pure and elevated of all Plutarch's moral essays, are members of his own family, while he himself is the chief speaker. We cannot but see, or think we see, in this beautiful dialogue, if not an exact picture of discussions that had actually been held in that domestic circle, yet a true symbol of the mutual relations of its members to each other, and of the deep interest with which they studied some of the most vital and profound questions that have ever engaged the thoughts of men. In all the various relations which he sustained to his family and kindred, towards his grandfather and great-grandfather, as a son and a brother, as a husband and a father, Plutarch appears in the most amiable and attractive light. His affections were not dried up in the study, nor drawn off into the cold regions of the intellect, nor sublimated into airy abstractions, nor diffused into vague and empty generalities. He loved study, but he loved his family more. His philanthropic spirit was alive to the weal or wo of all mankind. Nay, his benevolent heart beat in lively sympathy with every living thing. "We certainly ought not," he says, in stern rebuke of the elder Cato's stoical indifference to the happiness of his servants and beasts of burden; "we certainly ought not to treat living creatures like

* Only one daughter, and five children in all, are usually ascribed to Plutarch. But this leaves out of account the son-in-law mentioned in the text.

† See Hackett's *Plutarch*, p. 60.

shoes or household goods, which, when worn out with use, we throw away; and were it only to learn benevolence to human kind, we should be merciful to other creatures. For my own part, I would not sell even an old ox that had laboured for me,—much less would I cast off a *man* grown old in my service.” Yet, to show that this is not mere sickly sentimentalism, but the instinctive kindness of an affectionate heart, he concentrated upon his family circle a love which was as much more tender and fervent than this general benevolence, as they were more nearly related to him.

Before we take leave of Plutarch’s private life, and proceed to view him in his relation to the times and to men and things around him, it may be well to glance at some of his leading characteristics as a writer, reserving, however, for some future occasion, as we have already intimated, a more particular examination of his works, in the state in which they have come down to us. Nothing further need be premised here, than the well-known fact that his writings are partly historical, and partly moral and philosophical. It is chiefly to the former, and especially to his *Parallel Lives*, that he owes his celebrity. Yet some of the *Moralia* are not less worthy of general acquaintance and admiration. Indeed, we think Plutarch is never so able, never so eloquent, never so much himself, as when he discourses on some high moral theme; and it is the moral element that gives to his *Parallel Lives* much of their peculiar power.

Heavy charges have been laid upon Plutarch as an historian. And he is certainly open to criticism, when tried by the established canons of historical composition. He is deficient in method. He follows neither the chronological nor the geographical arrangement. His narratives are anecdotal rather than historical. Like a storyteller, he rambles on from incident to incident, as one happens to suggest another, or as they are linked together in the mind of the writer by some law of moral association, or as they serve to illustrate some common trait of character in the subject. There is a want of definiteness, sometimes of accuracy, in his detail of dates and places, though he abounds in the enumeration of particulars, and excels in the selection of such incidents as suit his purpose. He does not always sift his authorities with sufficient care, approaching in this respect more nearly to the credulity of Herodotus, than to the discrimination of Thucydides. But he is not so faulty in this respect as he is often represented to be. He is careful to consult all the books within his reach; and very often specifies the authority on which he relies, and how much or how little he relies on it. When he depends on the testimony of a living witness, he is still more particular to name him, and to state whether or not he was an eye-

witness. If tradition is his only voucher for a fact, he is usually frank and explicit in saying so. In writing the life of a Theseus and a Romulus, he is far indeed from resolving it all (like the recent Niebuhr school of historians) into a myth, or an eponym, that never had any historical existence; but, on the other hand, he is as far from receiving it all as a real verity. In short, he is not more credulous of legendary tales than other writers and scholars of his country; and he furnishes the reader the means of verifying his narrative to as ample an extent as Herodotus or Livy. He is said to quote two hundred and fifty writers in his *Parallel Lives*, of whom about eighty are writers whose works are entirely or partially lost.* A small critic, who is wholly intent on the minute accuracies of name and date, and time and place, can detect some mistakes. This is especially true of his *Roman Lives*, but not more true of Plutarch than of most historians or biographers who write of the men or the institutions of foreign countries. Plutarch was, indeed, under the peculiar disadvantage of not understanding very well the Latin language, which, he tells us,† he had not time to learn when he was at Rome, and of which he seems never to have acquired a perfect mastery. Yet he often refers to Latin books for authority;—he also used the Greek writers on Roman history; and so far from acknowledging ignorance of Roman affairs, he says that the knowledge of Roman things, which he gained by observation and through his vernacular tongue, had aided him in acquiring the Latin language. And it is precisely here—in his *Roman Lives*—that Professor Long, with justice we think, finds the most convincing evidence of his substantial truthfulness. We quote a few lines from his Article on Plutarch in *Smith's Dictionary of Biography*; for no English or American scholar of our day has probably paid so much attention to Plutarch's *Lives*:—"On the whole, his *Roman Lives* do not often convey erroneous notions; if the detail is incorrect, the general impression is true. They may be read with profit by those who seek to know something of Roman affairs; and probably contain as few mistakes as most biographies which have been written by a man who is not a countryman of those whose lives he writes."

Plutarch has been accused of partiality for his countrymen. It has even been alleged that the chief motive of his *Parallel Lives* was a lurking and morbid desire to avenge the conquered Greeks on the conquering Romans, by showing that the time was when Greece had her great men too, and even greater than those of Rome. For ourselves, we think he may well plead not guilty to this indictment, and

* *Smith's Biographical Dictionary*, art. *Plutarchus*.

† *Life of Demosthenes*.

an impartial verdict will pronounce his full acquittal. We have reviewed several of his biographies, with particular reference to this question; and we cannot see wherein he has not done as ample justice to the Catos, as to Aristides and Phocion; to Pompey, as to Agesilaus; to Cicero, as to Demosthenes. Nay, in this last parallel, if he has shown partiality, it is to the Roman author; if he has done injustice, it is to the lofty patriotism, the commanding genius, and the transcendent eloquence of his countryman. Plutarch does not seem to have appreciated the character or the genius of Julius Cæsar. He is more smitten with the dazzling qualities and the brilliant achievements of the young Grecian conqueror. But we discover no trace of national prejudice;—he writes here, as everywhere, like an honest, truthful, earnest man. If he is biased, it is by republican sympathies, which are more fully awakened against the usurper and the more recent destroyer of the liberties of mankind. In neither of these, nor indeed in his other Lives, is there anything to suggest the thought that he is writing the biography of a countryman or a foreigner, still less that he cherishes a morbid thirst for vengeance on the oppressors of his race.

Plutarch loves to tell a good story. Sometimes, perhaps, he scrutinizes more narrowly the fitness of an incident to the character he would draw, or the impression he would make, than the intrinsic dignity it wears, or the historical evidence on which it rests. But what modern historian shall throw the first stone at Plutarch for this sin? Plutarch's Lives may well be called the prototype of the historical reviews of our day; and the Alisons and Macaulays, all the most attractive and popular historians of the nineteenth century, write, like Plutarch in the first century, with a constant eye to impression and picturesque effect; draw striking characters, relate entertaining anecdotes, and sacrifice the dignified repose of the ancient history to the more varied and stirring scenes of a collection of biographies. Plutarch was fully conscious of this characteristic, and did not aspire or profess to rank with the classic historians:—"We are not writing histories," he says,* "but lives. Neither is it always in the most distinguished exploits that men's virtues or vices may be best discerned; frequently some unimportant action, some short saying or jest, distinguishes a person's real character more than fields of carnage, the greatest battles, and the most important sieges. As painters, therefore, in their portraits, labour the likeness in the face, particularly about the eyes, in which the peculiar turn of mind most appears; so must we be permitted to strike off the features of the soul, in order to give a real likeness of these great men, and leave

* Life of Alexander.

to others the circumstantial detail of their toils and their achievements." Tried by his own standard, placed among those whom he reckons as his peers, we think Plutarch stands pre-eminent. And such has been the verdict of mankind. His Lives were among the most popular works of his own day. The historians, philosophers, and grammarians of subsequent ages bear testimony to his singular merit. He was a special favourite with the Greek and Latin fathers. When the Greek and Latin languages gave place to those of modern Europe, Plutarch was one of the first classic authors brought out of the cloisters of the learned, and translated for the benefit of the people; and from that day to this, no book has been more universally popular, none more widely diffused in different tongues and distant lands, none sought after with more avidity by the young and the old, in the infancy and the maturity of nations, than Plutarch's Lives.

It was translated into French in the reign of Henry II., and from the French translated again into English in the time of Queen Elizabeth. It is generally supposed that this English Plutarch furnished the materials for those immortal plays of Shakspeare which dramatize classical subjects. And the unlettered not only of Shakspeare's countrymen, but of other European nations, are indebted, directly or indirectly, to Plutarch for the better part of their knowledge of ancient heroes and sages. Ancient history, as written for the people in modern times, makes principal use of those facts which he narrates, and presents them in the same striking and popular light in which he clothed them. Indeed, so effectually has he been translated and transfused into the common mind, that if all which has been derived from him were subtracted from the now current popular notions touching the great men of antiquity, the larger, and by far the more interesting part, would be swept into oblivion, and an appalling blank would be created, not only in the memories, but in the imaginations and the hearts of men. Like the marvellous incidents and the moral lessons of Ulysses' story—the *speciosa miracula*, as Horace calls them, of the Odyssey—Plutarch's heroes and their achievements have become familiar as household words throughout the civilized world. They are worshipped as a kind of household gods that have survived the general wreck of paganism, and planted their altars on the hearths of Christendom. They are incorporated with the hallowed memories, the sacred associations, the common inheritances, the daily thoughts and lives, of the great human family. Children listen to Plutarch as to a genuine story-teller of marvellous, yet true stories, and give his works a place with Robinson Crusoe, Sinbad the Sailor, and The Tales of a Grandfather, in their little

libraries. Youth drink in from him a purer and loftier inspiration; and as he introduces them to the intimate acquaintance of one after another of the great, and wise, and good of antiquity, they resolve that they also will be something, and do something, in their day and generation. In times that try men's souls, he is usually an especial favourite. Amid revolutions, like the American and the French, the Washingtons and Franklins, the Lafayettes and Vergniauds, the Rolands and De Staëls, look to Plutarch for wisdom and strength—for patterns how to live, and examples how to die. The *Parallel Lives* are a sort of heathen Book of Martyrs, which, though far from being a perfect, or, in any sense, a Christian standard, has yet animated thousands with the spirit of heroes and martyrs in the cause of liberty and virtue, of their country and mankind.

It must be conceded, that, as a biographer, Plutarch does not show the nicest discrimination. His characters are too much of a piece; they want the infinite variety of nature, and of the highest works of art. He fails to discover those delicate, and almost evanescent lights and shades, which so dignify and adorn the creations of Homer and Shakspeare, the delineations of Thucydides and Tacitus, the conceptions of the great masters in history, as well as in Epic and Dramatic Poetry. He finds in each character some ruling passion, and then is inclined to use that as the key to unlock all the secrets of the life. Each personage is, therefore, too much like an incarnation of some virtue or vice, and by consequence too much like other incarnations of the same virtue or vice. They do not want life or reality: but they are deficient in individuality, in distinctive features, and delicate shades of colouring.

His delineations are also somewhat wanting in ease and freedom. His plan, though ingenious and pleasing, is artificial: it sets him on the discovery of resemblances, which are sometimes only accidental and fancied. He seems also to have an innate fondness for the detection of remote analogies, or rather of minute correspondences. Who but Plutarch would ever have hit upon all these points of similarity between Demosthenes and Cicero? "The same ambition, the same love of liberty, appears in their whole administration, and the same timidity amidst wars and dangers. Nor did they less resemble each other in their fortunes: for I think it is impossible to find two other orators, who raised themselves from obscure beginnings to such authority and power, who both opposed kings and tyrants; who both lost their daughters; were banished their country, and returned with honour; were forced to fly again; were taken by their enemies, and at last expired the same hour with the liberties of their country." He hunts up correspondences; he runs after

anecdotes illustrative of the ruling passion. Not that he confines himself to these: he loves facts also for their own sake. He will find a place for a good story, if it does not tally exactly with the parallel, or with the preconceived character of his hero. Still, he has a hero to bring forth—a character to make out; and he tells you so. He does not, like Homer, let you see it merely in the action or dialogue. He has little of the pure dramatic element. Yet he is not, on the other hand, purely didactic. He not only tells you that he has a hero whom he is going to bring forth; but, suiting the action to the word, he shows him to you. He describes him in words somewhat formal and precise; and if he stopped there, he were no better than a sophist. But he does not stop there: he sets him before you a living reality—speaking, acting, full of energy and power; and he is not a mere sophist, or philosopher, or historian; but a seer, a sage, a biographer, a painter of the lives of men for all time.

Plutarch's *Moralia* are much less known than the *Parallel Lives*. They have been translated into Latin, French, and German, but never into English. Yet we think several of them well worthy of translation; and we wish some one, who could do him justice, would enrich our language with his tract "On the Education of Children," with his "Consolation, addressed to his wife on the death of a daughter," with his "Precepts on Marriage," with his "Comparison between Superstition and Infidelity," and, especially, with his masterly argument "On the Delay of the Deity in Punishing the Wicked." It would be difficult to name the Modern Sermon, or Ethical Discourse, which is, on the whole, a more thorough and satisfactory discussion of that subject; though it were easy to find many a sermon that has been taken from it, bodily and spiritually, in doctrine, argument, and illustration, *all* but the text. Nor do we know of any modern work on marriage, in which, within the same compass, more excellent maxims are laid down, or more beautifully illustrated, than in the *Precepta Conjugalia* of Plutarch. It has all the affluence of comparison and allusion which so adorns the *Marriage Ring* of Jeremy Taylor; together with a conciseness and a definiteness, to which the English bishop was a stranger.

The difficulties and the infelicities of Plutarch's style have both been exaggerated. When the student first opens his pages, he is repelled, and almost appalled, by the strangeness of the words and the singularity of their collocation. So many abstract nouns; so many adjectives superadded to bring out the abstract qualities more fully; such an accumulation of epithets and of similes; so many big words, and strong; so many words that he either never saw before, or has seen few and far between, with familiar words enough

intervening to serve as a clew to their significance, but here piled heaps upon heaps, or strung along in thick and formidable succession;—all these meeting him at once, are quite frightful to the beginner in the reading of Plutarch. Yet, as he learns the vocabulary, and grows familiar with the structure of the sentences, he discovers that these words, numerous as they are, all have a meaning; that these sentences, loose as they appear, are full of connected thought; that these epithets and similes, however accumulated, seldom fail to illustrate the sentiment, as well as to embellish the style; and that the discourse, rhetorical and declamatory as it seems in some respects to be, is yet methodical, argumentative, and replete with invaluable matter. He takes up a second treatise, and discovers the same characteristics. He not only meets with the same words in a similar arrangement, but he finds the author repeating his facts and illustrations, as Homer repeats, again and again, his favourite similes and descriptions; and as Demosthenes uses, over and over, his most successful appeals and his most eloquent passages. He now begins to feel at home, and at ease. He forgets the peculiarities of manner, which at first fastened his attention, and becomes absorbed in the matter: he no longer translates the Greek into English, still less arranges the words in the English order. He takes the impression of each word as he goes along; or, rather, he is borne on by the stream of thought and argument, which flows so deep and strong beneath the words, and he becomes a convert to the doctrine which is inculcated, or he resolves to imitate the hero or the sage whose life is portrayed. The Greek of Plutarch is very unlike the easy elegance of Plato, or the compact, artistic, symmetrical strength of Demosthenes. But, perhaps, it is not more different (though it is separated by a much longer interval of time) than the Latin of Pliny and Tacitus from that of Cæsar and Cicero, or the English of Macaulay and his fellow-reviewers, from that of Addison and the early English essayists. He has the faults of his profession as a public lecturer; and of his age—an age of scribblers and declaimers, of scholastics and rhetoricians. But, while he is far from the simplicity of the pure Attic historians and philosophers, he is still more removed from the common herd of contemporary writers. He is not a plausible sophist, a fulsome panegyrist, a bitter satirist, a heartless critic, a grammarian, a mere dealer in nouns, and verbs, and tropes, and metaphors. He is surpassingly rich in facts and thoughts, in great truths and noble sentiments. He is surprisingly free from the worst literary vices of his age. And as to its political, moral, and religious corruptions, he stood, not alone, but with a noble few, quite apart from them—far above them.

To gain a just appreciation of any man's character, we must contemplate him in his relation to the times and circumstances in which he lived. If while his vices were the vices of his age, his virtues were pre-eminently, though not exclusively, his own; if he was of his countrymen and contemporaries indeed, and yet far *above* and *beyond* them, it is high praise.

Plutarch was born, as we have seen, at or near the middle of the first century. He died toward the close of the first quarter of the second century. The golden age of Roman literature had passed away, never to return. The Latin language and literature, like the Roman State, had put forth its blossoms, and they had fallen; it was still destined to bear fruit—rich and precious fruit—even to old age; nay, it might shoot up here and there a flower, but the season of bloom had gone by. The triumvirate of Latin historians—Cæsar, at once the author and the subject of his own history, and as inimitable in the simplicity of his narrative, as in the splendour of his achievements;—Sallust, affecting all the gravity, stateliness, and virtue of the old Roman, but greater and better in speech than in action;—and Livy, born to celebrate the rising glories of his country in language worthy of the imperial and eternal city, and therefore born when that country had not, as yet, begun to decline from the zenith of her power—this triumvirate had spoken—had spoken in “the voice of empire and of war, of law and of the State”—and the muse of history was for a time silent. Roman eloquence had expired with Roman liberty; they found a burial together in the grave of Cicero: and for them, emphatically, there was no resurrection. Philosophy, too, had its freest play in his large and liberal mind—in his writings its most genial and attractive development. More profound thinkers, more earnest and courageous souls, came after him; but none in whom, as in Plato, the spirit of philosophy was manifested under a form altogether becoming. Latin poetry also had poured forth all its sweetest strains, and, swan-like, sung its own death-song. The Greek-like inspirations of Lucretius, (worthy of a better theme,) the unaffected ease and simplicity of Catullus, the melancholy tenderness of Tibullus, the artistic grace and elegance of Virgil, the intuitive good sense and exquisite taste of Horace, the marvellous ingenuity and overflowing exuberance of Ovid—the last echo of all these had died away on the delighted ear, and no Roman was ever to hear the like again.

The politic and princely Augustus died half a century before Plutarch had finished his education. Of all those, to whose genius, learning, and taste, he owed the chief lustre of his immortal name, (though they in turn were indebted to him for scope and oppor-

tunity of development,) none but Livy and Ovid survived him; and of these, Ovid was already banished in disgrace, probably for an intrigue with the emperor's licentious daughter, while Livy never completed the history of Augustus' reign. It was the cruel, and yet not undeserved destiny of this proud and selfish prince, to bury scholar after scholar, friend after friend, and one adopted child after another, till he was left solitary and sad, amid the tantalizing splendour and power of his unbounded empire.

Augustus was succeeded by the jealous and dissembling Tiberius, who obliged the senate to flatter him, and then railed at them for it in Greek as he left the Senate-house, and who compelled the aged and blameless historian, Cremutius Cordus, to starve himself to death for having dared to praise Brutus, and to style Cassius "the last of the Romans." After him came in rapid, and yet too slow succession, those weak-headed and black-hearted monsters, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, who all gave promise of a mild and virtuous reign at first; but, after having squandered the treasures of the empire, burned the city, and murdered by wholesale the citizens, died by violence, only regretting that they had not been able to finish the work of destruction with greater despatch, and leaving behind them names which have ever since been synonymes of tyranny and crime in every language throughout the civilized world. Of course, they found fit tools of their cruelty in the soldiers; fit instruments, as well as fit victims, in the citizens,—the mass of whom lived on their largesses, fattened on their vices, and were in due season sacrificed to their jealousy or their pleasure, their convenience or their caprice. During these reigns, literature was well-nigh crushed beneath the weight of tyranny, or died out amid the general decay of morals.

But such crimes and cruelties could not always last; the scene of blood ended in the civil wars of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, each of whom took the sword, and after having fought his way to the seat of a little brief authority, fell by the sword, and gave place to "other men, but not other manners." The military and civil virtues (not without vices) of Vespasian at length won an established throne, and he died in his bed, or rather he died standing, which, he said, was the only death suitable for an emperor. His sons also held the reins with a firm hand: and though Titus (delight of the Romans) reigned too short a time for the accomplishment of his liberal and magnificent designs, and the cruel Domitian banished philosophers, as his father had done before him, and looked with a jealous eye on all scholars who did not flatter him with literary as well as civil pre-eminence; yet, with the return of partial liberty and peace, (those

sister nurses of science and art,) literature began to revive. And when at length, under the imperial Trajan, born to command, that period of rare felicity arrived in which men might think what they pleased, and speak what they thought,* literary culture reached a second culminating point—second in order of time, and second in order of excellence, to that of the Augustan age, and standing to it somewhat in the relation of the literature of Queen Anne's reign to that of Queen Elizabeth's—a culminating point, from which it declined but slowly during the happy reign of the peace-loving and art-cherishing Hadrian, and sank to an evening of glory with the setting sun of the philosophical Antoninus.

To this second period, commonly called the silver age of Roman literature, belong the names of the two Plinies, Martial, Juvenal, Statius, Quintilian, Suetonius, Tacitus; and to bring the Greek writers of the same age into the same category, Pausanias, Josephus, Philo Judæus, Plutarch, Epictetus, and not a few others less known and less deserving. The philosopher Seneca and his nephew, the poet Lucan, may be considered as the pioneers of this corps of authors; they both died under Nero. The elder Pliny and Statius died before the reign of Trajan; Martial, Juvenal, the younger Pliny, and Tacitus, all probably died during that reign. Suetonius, Quintilian, Plutarch, and Epictetus, survived Trajan, only, however, by a few years. Such were the contemporaries—such the times—of Plutarch! A bright, but not unclouded sky, set with brilliant stars, but by no means of the first magnitude.

That night of storms and thick darkness, which settled down upon the Roman empire after the death of Augustus, never wholly passed away. At such a time, philosophers (if philosophers there be) will be either Stoics or Epicureans; and panegyric or satire is almost the only alternative that remains for writers. All these extremes, at this time, took on their extremest forms. The many who aspired to any kind of culture, revelled in the garden of Epicurus, and sank into the lowest abyss of sensual gratification. The few, deeming life ignoble in so corrupt and servile an age, vaunted their Stoicism, courted martyrdom, and soon met the fate they coveted. Seneca and Thrasea were among the less impracticable of Stoics; but Nero put them both to death, and so won a sure title to immortality. Helvidius Priscus provoked the same doom, even under the mild and tolerant sway of Vespasian.

The epigram now assumed a pungency which had not before belonged to it, but which has since become its established prerogative

* *Histories of Tacitus.*

and characteristic. The epigrams of Martial resemble those of the earlier Latin and Greek poets only in the name.

The satire, too, of this age is quite another thing not only from that of the Greeks, but also from that of Lucilius and the earlier Romans. The playful and pointed satire of Horace was suited to the refined and luxurious vices of the Augustan age. But the monstrous corruption and degradation of the Claudian period called for the bitter sarcasm and vehement denunciation of Juvenal—a style of writing which even had its influence on the language, though not a malign influence on the spirit of the Histories of Tacitus.

It is only in this period that the Greek word, *πανηγυρικός*, passes over into the sense of the English *panegyric*. It had originally meant a festival oration, a funeral eulogium, such as were pronounced at the Olympic games, or on special occasions before the assembled multitude. It now came to mean a flattering, and for the most part false, address to the reigning prince. Such panegyrics, particularly on Nero and Domitian, disfigure the poems of Lucan and Statius, and even the prose writings of Quintilian. Even the panegyric of Pliny on the Emperor Trajan must be reckoned extravagant and fulsome, though not altogether undeserved and false. Both the panegyric and the satire of this age were too extravagant to be altogether sincere. Sometimes, as in Lucan, the poem begins with encomium, written in the sunshine of court favour, and ends with censure on the same emperor, composed in banishment or disgrace. And we mistrust the fierce invective which Juvenal launches against vice scarcely less, than the courtly compliments which many a writer of questionable character lavishes upon virtue.

Not only poetry, but history, was made the vehicle of flattery and calumny. Suetonius, to say the least, retails a vast deal of scandal in his Lives of the Cæsars. And Tacitus charges almost the entire body of historical writers, after the age of Augustus, with being swayed by favour or awed by fear.* For himself, he professes entire impartiality. His works, so far as they are extant, justify the claim. And the same high praise—of candour amid prejudice, of truthfulness amid insincerity—is awarded, without a dissenting voice, to Plutarch. Indeed, by a natural law of reaction, there are in these, and several of the best men of this corrupt age, an ardent love of truth, a devout veneration for virtue, and an intense hatred of vice and falsehood; there are also a depth of thought, an elevation of sentiment, a fervour of emotion, and an earnestness of expression, which, while they mar the classic simplicity and repose of

* Histories, lib. i., chap. 1.

their style, yet speak to the hearts of men, in times so exciting as ours, with stirring eloquence and commanding power. And degenerate as the literary taste and execution of the age must be conceded to have been in comparison with the Augustan standard, still we find in the elder Pliny an extent of learning; in Quintilian, a justness of criticism; in Tacitus, a profound philosophy of history; and in Seneca, Plutarch, and Epictetus, a purity of ethics, approaching to the Christian code of morals, such as all the vaunted, and, in many respects, real superiority of the Augustan age never reached.

In accordance with the practical tendencies of his age, Plutarch was more a moral than a metaphysical philosopher. But he did not go to either of the then prevalent extremes. He would not have been found with either of the sects whom Paul encountered at Athens. He exposed the errors and contradictions of the Stoics in more than one set treatise; and, in another, he showed that to live according to the principles of Epicurus, was to fail even of the happiness which his followers regarded as life's chief end. His teacher, Ammonius, was an Aristotelian.* He himself is usually reckoned as a disciple of Plato. He was, however, a New-Platonist; or, to designate the thing more exactly by the name, an Eclectic. He received more of the doctrines and spirit of the Academy than of any other school. But he confined himself to no one sect. His system, if system it may be called, combined the most useful, while it eschewed the hurtful, elements of all the schools. It embraced the logic and natural science of the Peripatetics, without their endless disputations and barren distinctions; the modest and inquiring spirit of the Academicians, without the skepticism or the mysticism that was too often coupled with it; the high-toned and heroic morality of the Stoics, disincumbered of their affected insensibility and mad extravagance. From Pythagoras, he adopted the doctrine of the transmigration of souls; and, like that philosopher, he inferred from it the duty of kindness to brutes, and of abstinence from animal food. In his theological opinions and his religious character, he differed little from Socrates. He withheld his assent from the superstitions of the multitude, and yet did not renounce the religion of the State. The national worship was not only essential to curb the passions, and to meet the wants of the vulgar; but the most enlightened, he thought, might use it as a help to devotion—as an appropriate symbol of a purer and more spiritual worship. A religion that was not national, but universal, was a thing of which the ancients could not conceive, till the idea was forced upon them by Christianity; and then they

* Smith's Dict. of Biog., art. Ammonius.

were very slow to receive it. "The man who can believe it possible," says Celsus, "for Greeks and barbarians, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, to agree in one code of religious laws, must be quite void of understanding." But Plutarch thought there was essential truth in all national religions. "As sun and moon, sky, earth, and sea," he says,* "are common to all, while they have different names among different nations; so, likewise, though there is but *one* system of the world which is supreme, and one governing Providence, whose ministering powers are set over *all* men; yet there have been given to these, by the laws of different nations, different names and modes of worship." His doctrine, in short, is essentially that of Pope's Universal Prayer, which, in the mouth of a Christian, is but a refined species of infidelity; but among Polytheistic pagans might be expressive of the highest attainable Monotheism and spirituality.

Plutarch believed in one Supreme Divinity, self-existent, eternal, omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent, unchangeable by time or place; immutable also in truth, justice, wisdom, and goodness; the common Father and Ruler of all mankind, and the proper object of religious worship by all his creatures. At the same time he admitted, as did also Socrates, the existence of a class of inferior deities or demigods, stretching through all the interval between the Most High and mortal men, and serving as a medium of communication in various ways between heaven and earth. Of this number were the gods of oracles, of dreams, and of all manner of revelations. Such, too, in Plutarch's opinion, was the *δαίμων* of Socrates.† They, in short, are the agents of Divine Providence, and the administrators, to a great extent, of the divine government among men.

The age of Plutarch was deeply infected with the spirit of universal skepticism. The Greeks, whose religion was always more æsthetic than moral, had long had their sophists and skeptics, who laboured to undermine the foundations of all faith; and their most enlightened men were, to a great extent, atheists, or, at best, pantheists, who either renounced all religion, or held on to it only as an engine of personal or political policy. The religion of the Romans had in it more of the moral element, and, therefore, laid hold of the conscience by a firmer grasp. But now old things were passing away, and all things were to be made new. And it is affecting to see how such observing and thoughtful men as the elder Pliny and Tacitus, had lost their faith in all that was old, without, as yet, having found anything new to place in its stead. "If," says Tacitus,

* On Isis and Osiris, as quoted by Neander in his *His. Chr. Church*.

† See his *Treatise* on that subject.

in that touching apostrophe of filial affection to a departed father-in-law, where, if anywhere, his love might be expected to strengthen his faith and hope—"IF the souls of great men are not extinguished with their bodies!" Again he says in the *Annals*: "Whether human affairs are governed by fate and immutable necessity, or left to the wild rotation of chance, I am not able to decide." Pliny draws a still more gloomy picture of human life:* "All religion is the offspring of necessity, weakness, and fear. *What* God is—if in truth he be anything distinct from the world—it is beyond the compass of man's understanding to know. But it is a foolish delusion, which has sprung from human weakness and human pride, to imagine that such an infinite Spirit would concern himself with the petty affairs of men. The vanity of man, and his insatiable longing after existence, have led him also to dream of a life after death. A being full of contradictions, he is the most wretched of creatures. Among so great evils, the best thing God has bestowed on man is the power to take his own life." Contrast with these dismal views the whole argument and spirit of the *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*, and it will be strikingly apparent how far above his age Plutarch was in his moral and religious sentiments. He was a full believer in a wise and benevolent particular Providence, and in a future state of rewards and punishments. Like Xenophon, he seems to have been constitutionally devout. But his piety had also a far broader and deeper rational basis than Xenophon's. He reflected much on the subject, and could give a reason for his religious belief, and for the hope there was in him. His piety seems to have been sincere, profound, pervading, and controlling. He is often pronounced superstitious. And he did believe in the reality of oracles, in the divine significance of dreams, in direct revelations to the inward, spiritual sense of wise and good men; in the superhuman origin, direction, and progress of great nations, and in the constant participation of superior beings in the affairs of men. But he narrates prodigies with more caveats and expressions of incredulity than Livy. He denounces the doctrine of fate,† deplores the folly and misery of superstition,† as exceeding even that of infidelity; withholds his credence from much of the received mythology of the Greeks and Romans, and ascribes to natural causes those phenomena of nature which the multitude were wont to ascribe to the direct favour or anger of the gods. At the same time, he maintained the divine presence and power as the ultimate cause of these very phenomena; ridiculed the doctrine of chance, as not less absurd than that of fate;

* See his *Nat. Hist.*, as cited by Neander, vol. i., p. 10.

† He has treatises on each of these subjects, as also on the *Cessation of Oracles*.

and censured unbelief, as less miserable indeed, but more criminal and mischievous, than superstition. In short, he adjusts the balance between erroneous extremes with an accuracy which, without revelation, is truly surprising.

Nor is it in his doctrines only, that we find in Plutarch a remarkable approximation towards the standard of Christianity. He breathes also a devout, gentle, humble, and, in some sense, Christian spirit. In his writings, for the first time, the word *ταπεινός*, which, like the Latin *humilis*, in its usual classical sense, imports meanness and pusillanimity, occurs, in a good sense, to denote a meek and submissive virtue. Of all the Grecian sects, the Academic, especially when enforced, as it was by the New-Platonists, with the high-toned morals of the Stoics, approached most nearly to the spirituality and ethical purity of the Christian system. It was from the Platonists that the first learned and philosophical converts to Christianity were actually made. And of all the Platonists, we know of no one from whose writings we should more confidently infer a readiness to accept the new religion, both in its doctrines and its spirit, as soon as it should be made known to him, than Plutarch.

It becomes, then, a question of great interest, what *were* the relations of Plutarch to Christianity?

Plutarch lived, as we have seen, till near a century and a quarter after the birth of our Lord—till almost a century (more exactly, ninety years) after his resurrection, and the outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost. At the time of Plutarch's death, Christian churches had existed at Jerusalem, at Antioch, and many other places in Syria and Asia Minor, for at least eighty years. Full seventy years had elapsed since Paul preached the gospel with so much power and success at Philippi and Thessalonica, at Athens and Corinth, the chief cities of Macedonia and Achaia, and some of them not a hundred miles from the town in which our philosopher studied, wrote, and died. The earliest of the Gospels had then been written eighty years, and the latest sixty years. The Epistles to the Galatians and the Thessalonians had been in circulation, or at least in existence, seventy years; the Epistles to the Corinthians and the Romans, sixty-five years; those to the Philippians, Ephesians, and Colossians, sixty-two years; and the Second to Timothy and the Second of Peter, the last of all the Epistles, about sixty years. The presumption certainly would be strong, that, by this time, the Christians would have become so generally known, that the fame of them at least, if not their preaching and writings, would have reached the ears of Plutarch. Yet the most searching examination of his works discovers not the slightest evidence that he had

ever so much as heard of them. He discusses questions touching the God of the Jews, and their abstinence from swine's flesh,* in such a manner as to show some acquaintance with their history; but he never mentions the Christians. He was interested in whatever pertained to humanity and religion. The subjects which he discussed, and the sentiments which he inculcated, were kindred to Christianity; and yet he never makes an allusion to it! And we know not whether our surprise at this discovery is diminished or increased, when we further learn that, with a few exceptions, all the Greek and Roman writers of his age maintain the same profound silence.

Among the Greeks,† Dio Chrysostom, Cœnomaus, who in the time of Hadrian anticipated the part of Lucian as a derider of the gods, Maximus Tyrius, and Pausanias, are entirely silent in respect to the Christians. Of the Latin authors of this period, Lucan, Silius Italicus, Florus, Curtius Rufus, Quintilian, Gellius, Apuleius, Martial, and Juvenal, make no allusion to them; though several of these authors, particularly Juvenal, it would seem, could scarcely have avoided some reference to them, had they been known. In the reign of Trajan we find the first mention of the Christians, and in the writings of Tacitus, Suetonius, and the younger Pliny. Tacitus, in giving an account of the conflagration of the city, which was supposed to have been set on fire by order of Nero, relates that the emperor, for the purpose of averting suspicion from himself, charged the crime upon the Christians, and inflicted upon them punishments of the most refined ingenuity and cruelty; and in this connexion he explains the origin of the name which they bore, and characterizes their religion as a pernicious superstition, and their spirit as that of hatred towards the human race.‡ Suetonius, in his life of Nero, alludes to the same punishments, and speaks of the Christians as a class of men addicted to a new and mischievous superstition. And the same writer, in his life of Claudius, states that the Jews were expelled from Rome by this emperor, because they were perpetually engaging in disturbances, to which they were instigated by one Chrestus, (which name is generally understood to be a corruption of Christus, or Christ.) The allusions by both of these historians show that they barely knew of their existence, but understood little or nothing of the history or character of the Christians.

* Sympos., lib. iv.

† Compare an excellent Article on this subject, translated by Professor Hackett, from the Latin of N. T. Tschirner, in the *Bib. Repository*, vol. xi., first series.

‡ *Annals of Tacitus*, xv., 44. We have given these facts chiefly in the language of Tschirner.

In the well-known letter of Pliny, which he wrote to the Emperor Trajan when he was pro-prætor of Bithynia, about the year 104, we have not only more ample, but more certain also, and more important, information in regard to the Christians. From this letter we learn, that they were now dispersed in all directions throughout Bithynia, so that many of the temples were abandoned, and the customary rites of religion neglected. For this reason, they were accused before the pro-prætor, who considered it his duty to institute an inquiry in regard to these despisers of the public religion, and to adopt measures of severity against them. The course which was pursued he explains to the emperor very minutely, and acquaints him also with such further particulars as he had ascertained in regard to the sect; such as, that on a stated day they were accustomed to assemble before light, and sing a hymn to Christ as God, and to bind themselves with an oath, that they would not be guilty of any crime, but would abstain from theft, robbery, adultery, violation of promises, and withholding of property committed to their care. Bithynia, it will be remembered, was one of those provinces of Asia Minor where the gospel was earliest preached, and where it would seem to have most widely prevailed. Yet, even here, the pro-prætor does not appear to have concerned himself with it any further than it was forced upon his attention in his judicial capacity. He did not examine into the opinions of the Christians, or read their sacred books; and what he wrote respecting them was written, not for the purpose of being preserved as an historical record, but merely that the emperor might know what had been done in the case, and might be enabled to judge in regard to the expediency and nature of any further action.

The allusions extant from the reign of Hadrian are confined to a letter of Hadrian himself and a passage in Arrian, which amount to this only, that the emperor confounded the Christians with the worshippers of Serapis, and that the historian, or his master, Epictetus, (it is uncertain which,) considered them as mad in their contempt of pain and death.

Such is the sum total of all that can be gathered touching Christianity, from the Greek and Roman writers who were contemporary with Plutarch; and this silence cannot but strike us as strangely as the contemptuous language in which Festus, the Roman governor, speaks of the new religion to Agrippa: "Against whom, when the accusers stood up, they brought no accusation of such things as I supposed: but had certain questions against him of *their own superstition*, and of *one Jesus*, who was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive!" And yet, when we recover from our first surprise at seeing such neglect and contempt cast upon that which was to be the life

of the world, and contemplate the subject in the light in which it must then have appeared—the silence, the ignorance even, of the Greek and Roman writers, admits of an explanation. It is manifest from the language of Festus just cited, and from the whole tenor of sacred as well as ecclesiastical history, that Christianity, preached as it first was in the Jewish synagogues, and propagated at first chiefly among the Jews and Jewish proselytes, was regarded as a new sect of the Jews' religion. And the Jews, despised by the learned as superstitious, and hated by the great as seditious, were looked down upon as the most despicable of all the subjects of the Roman empire.* Who, then, would be likely to interest himself in the rise of a new sect among them, or in such questions as might arise out of their superstition? Who, among the Greeks and Romans, knew or cared anything about the distinctions of Pharisee, Sadducee, and Essene; and, till at length it demonstrated its divine power and heavenly origin to the conviction or amazement of all, what reason was there to suppose that the new superstition concerned mankind any more than those idle and effete distinctions? As well might the English look for a new religion to proceed from Hindostan, and revolutionize the world, or the Americans expect a light to illumine mankind in some novelty that might spring up among the slaves of South Carolina.

Plutarch was less likely to hear of the new religion than most of his contemporaries. Christianity was first propagated in the large cities. Plutarch lived in a small country town, and that in a district which is never mentioned among those in which the gospel was preached in the first century. And though a Christian Church had long existed at Corinth, it would naturally be regarded for some time as a mere sect or party among the Jews, in which scholars and philosophers had no possible concern.

It cannot, therefore, be deemed impossible, or even improbable, that Plutarch may have been ignorant of Christianity. There is no evidence that he knew of its existence. All the direct evidence we have, goes to prove that he did not. There is no probability, if he had heard of its existence, that he understood at all its nature and claims. Whether, if it had been fairly brought before his mind, he would have cordially embraced the truth as it is in Jesus, is known only to Him who knoweth all things. Humble and believing as his spirit seems to have been, it may be that he never had true Christian humility, and never would have exercised, even under the preaching of the gospel, repentance towards God and faith in the

* *Despectissima pars servientium.*—Tac. His.

Lord Jesus Christ. For ourselves, however, we cannot but entertain the conviction, in regard to a few such men as Socrates and Plutarch, that they were prepared, by the gracious working of that Spirit, whose operations are so diverse, to receive the truths and the blessings of Christianity, had these only been brought within their reach; that Socrates would have hailed in Jesus Christ the Divine Teacher, whose benevolent mission and martyr-death he anticipated and described with almost prophetic exactness; that Plutarch would have welcomed in him one who could speak what he knew, and testify what he had seen, of that invisible world and that future state, of which he was constrained to acknowledge that himself and his favourite Academy *knew* nothing; that they would gladly have received from him, what every thoughtful man feels the need of in so important a matter, an *authoritative* confirmation of those hopes which they could not but cherish, but which, after all, left them to live and die in painful uncertainty; that they would have seen in his gospel what their reason could not discover,—a way in which God might be just, and yet justify the transgressor; and would have found in his truth and his grace that power, which the wisest and best men of antiquity despaired of finding in philosophy—a power to enlighten, renovate, and save the ignorant and degraded *masses* of mankind. And is it heresy, or is it not, to admit the hope in regard to such men, that the revelation which never reached them in the darkness of heathenism, will be disclosed to them in the light of heaven, and being already prepared, by the grace of God, to accept its provisions, they will there unite with Christians in adoring the mystery of incarnate wisdom and redeeming love?

We are too good Protestants to unite with Erasmus in his prayer to Saint Socrates: “Sancte Socrates, ora pro nobis!” We might more readily join with others in styling Plutarch the Christian philosopher of pagan antiquity. There were “reformers before the Reformation.” There were “devout men,” men of Christian spirit, before the coming of Christ. They came out of every nation to Jerusalem. They were found Jews and Greeks, Romans and in the Roman army, by our Lord and by his apostles, at Capernaum and at Cesarea, in the city and in the wilderness; even as the missionaries of the cross in modern times have found some of those, to whom they have been sent, in all the various stages of providential preparation to receive them; from the Sandwich Islanders, who had cast away their idols, to the Karens, who, as if under a special divine impulse, stood waiting for the messengers of Heaven. Why may there not have been such, taught by the Providence and the Spirit of God, at Athens and at Chaeronea? It is to be feared there were

few such. Few gave evidence of being such in their writings or in their lives. But why be so uncandid as to reject, or so disingenuous as to deny, the evidence, where it does exist? Why seek to put out the lesser lights that rule the night, when, of themselves, they all pale and fade away before the great light that rules the day? There is too much of this indiscreet and patronizing defence of Christianity, especially in professed treatises on the Christian Revelation. Nothing tends more directly to cast a shade over its unequalled brightness. The ark of God needs no such unanointed hands volunteered for its preservation.

Neander speaks of Socrates as the forerunner of a higher development of humanity; and the Platonic Socrates, as coming, like a John the Baptist, before the revelation of Christ. For ourselves, we love to think of all ancient history as preparatory to, or, as Edwards viewed it, a part of the history of redemption, and all the great men of antiquity, as in some sense the forerunners of Christ. Sacred and profane history, providence and revelation, the natural and the supernatural in the divine government, though palpably distinct, are not at variance with each other. They have the same author—God. They conspire to the same end—truth and goodness, the instruction and salvation of men. The three great historical nations of antiquity all bore an especial and important part in preparing the world to receive its Saviour and King. The politics of the Romans, the literature of the Greeks, and the religion of the Hebrews, are so many distinct lines of light, all converging towards a common centre, the introduction and propagation of Christianity. The tendencies were, for the most part, unseen or misunderstood. The men were, to a great extent, unconscious of their mission. Even the prophets were far from comprehending what, or what manner of time, the Spirit of Christ, which was in them, did signify. But, conscious or unconscious of their work, prophets sung the promised glories of the Messiah's reign; kings, from whose loins he was destined to spring, if pious, looked and watched; and, if not pious, reigned and toiled for the establishment of his kingdom; rich men built synagogues, wherein the gospel was to be first preached in all the principal cities; and rabbis ruled them in a manner, which passed at length into a pattern of government in the primitive churches. And as in Israel, so in Grecian and Roman history, while Alexander diffused the Greek language—the language of the New Testament and of the long-established version of the Old—over large portions of Asia and Africa, and Julius Cæsar subjected the known world to his sway, and Augustus hushed it into a profound, an almost unheard-of peace, to welcome the birth of the Prince of peace; Socrates lived and died

a martyr to truth and virtue, for his country and mankind; and Plato embodied in his immortal dialogues a more pure and spiritual philosophy; and Cicero inculcated in his Offices a lofty and beautiful code of morals, and in his Tusculan Quæstions, and his *De Natura Deorum*, many just views of God and immortality. Accordingly, when the Lord appeared, he came "the Desire of all nations;" the world was waiting to receive him. Nor does this parallel cease with the coming of Christ. Paul not only preached every Sabbath in the synagogue, but disputed daily in the school of one Tyrannus. While the Apostles were rapidly spreading the gospel among the masses of the people, the disciples of Plato were silently and unwittingly preparing the way for the first accessions to the Church from the ranks of learning and philosophy, without which, unhappy as their influence in some respects was, we do not see how Christianity could have won a universal dominion. And to this day, while we read in the histories of Josephus the Jew, and the Roman Tacitus, the recorded fulfilment, in the most minute particulars, of our Lord's prediction touching the destruction of Jerusalem, we behold in the philosophico-religious writings of Philo Judæus and the Grecian Plutarch, no obscure types and shadows of some of the most sacred truths and mysteries of the Christian religion.

ART. II.—OREGON.

1. *Report of Lieut. Neil M. Howison, United States Navy, to the Commander of the Pacific Squadron; being the result of an Examination, in the Year 1846, of the Coast, Harbours, Rivers, Soil, Productions, Climate, and Population of the Territory of Oregon.*
2. *Journal of Travels over the Rocky Mountains to the Mouth of the Columbia River, made during the Years 1845 and 1846: containing Minute Descriptions of the Valleys of the Willamette, Umpqua, and Clamet; a General Description of Oregon Territory, &c., &c.*
By JOEL PALMER.

THE act of the last General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, establishing prospectively an Annual Conference west of the Rocky Mountains, induces us to lay before our readers a general summary of such information as we have been able to procure concerning the portion of our territory bordering on the Pacific. It was originally our intention to embrace in one article a view of both Oregon and California; but to do justice to the subject would occupy a greater space than can be allotted to one paper. Moreover, the boundary of California is not yet settled, and addi-

tional information in regard to the condition of the territory lately acquired from Mexico, is coming in every day. We shall, therefore, devote the present article to Oregon, and present in a future number such information as we can obtain concerning the southern portion of the proposed Annual Conference.

Oregon proper extends from latitude 42° to $54^{\circ} 40'$ N., these parallels being respectively the boundaries of California and the Russian Possessions. It has for its eastern boundary the great chain of mountains which extends the whole length of the continent, dividing the waters which pass into the Pacific from those that flow into the Arctic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. In this great range are two remarkable gaps, one near latitude 52° N., known as the Punch Bowl, lying between two stupendous peaks, Mount Brown and Mount Hooker, which have the altitude of fifteen and sixteen thousand feet. Here, within a few feet of each other, rise Canoe River, a tributary of the Columbia, and the Athabasca, which flows N. E. into Mackenzie River, the Mississippi of the Arctic Regions. The other gap, known as the South Pass, is near latitude 42° N., and is the crossing place for emigrants from the United States to Oregon and California. Here rise, on the east, streams tributary to the Missouri; and on the west are the sources of the Colorado, which discharges its waters into the Gulf of California.

In the year 1804, President Jefferson despatched an expedition, under Captains Lewis and Clarke, to explore the Missouri to its source, to cross over the Rocky Mountains, strike the head-waters of the Columbia, and follow it to the Pacific. This great enterprise occupied between two and three years, the party spending one winter on the Missouri, sixteen hundred miles from its junction with the Mississippi, and another near the mouth of the Columbia. The instructions of the President were successfully carried out; and to these enterprising officers is due the praise of having accomplished one of the most difficult undertakings in the records of human effort. The first American citizen who endeavoured to turn to profit the resources of this great territory was Mr. Astor, who, in 1810, established a trading-post near the mouth of the Columbia, from which he was driven by the British during the last war, subsequently relinquishing his claim in favour of the Hudson's Bay Company. For a long period subsequent to the exploration of Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, this territory was left to the British traders and a few independent trappers, who found their way from the head-waters of the Yellowstone and Missouri into the Oregon Territory. To the Methodist Episcopal Church belongs the glory of being the first to carry the Gospel to the numerous tribes of

Indians in the Valley of the Columbia. The history of this mission is, we presume, well known, and it is therefore unnecessary for us to remark upon the causes of its comparative failure.

In the year 1835 Rev. Mr. Parker, in company with the lamented Dr. Whitman, was commissioned by the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions to explore the Oregon Territory, with the view of ascertaining the spiritual condition of the Aborigines, and determining upon proper sites for missionary operations. Mr. Parker's narrative gives an account of the state of affairs in the territory, containing, in addition to the information which it was his principal object to obtain, valuable notes on the natural history of the country. Dr. Whitman returned from the base of the Rocky Mountains in order to enlist missionaries to set out immediately. He returned in the following year, in company with Rev. Mr. Spalding, who established himself among the Nez Percés Indians; Dr. W. joining himself to the Caäguas, with whom he remained until during the past year, when he was murdered by the people for whose interests he had so long and faithfully laboured; thus sealing with his blood the sincerity of his devotion to his Master's work.

To those who wish to obtain a more thorough knowledge of Oregon than we can pretend to give, within the limits of a single article, we would recommend a perusal of the work of Mr. Greenhow, (although we have some grave objections to urge against him;) Coxe's *Six Years on the Columbia*; Sir George Simpson's *Overland Voyage round the World*; the *Fourth Volume of the United States Exploring Expedition*; the *Narrative of Messrs. Johnson and Winter*, who accompanied the emigrating party in 1843; the able and scientific reports of Col. Fremont; and, finally, the accounts of our friends whose names stand at the head of this article.

The Report of Lieut. Howison is a plain and sensible narrative of facts that came under his observation during the exploring voyage in which he had the misfortune to have his vessel wrecked on the bar at the mouth of the Columbia. The navigation of the Columbia is rendered not only difficult, but perilous, by the great obstruction which this bar presents to vessels attempting to ascend the river; not only is the channel narrow and crooked, but the combined action of the waves of the ocean, and the current of the river, causes the bar to shift its position; consequently, no chart can be made that will be correct for any great length of time. Until this difficulty is obviated, by stationing competent pilots at the mouth, the entrance to the river will be extremely hazardous. Having once fairly entered the river, the navigation to Fort Van-

couver, though often tedious, is practicable, being thus described by Lieut. Howison:—

“Five fathoms can be carried at low water up to Astoria, which is the first anchorage combining comfort and security; three-quarters of a mile above that is a narrow pass of only thirteen feet; but from Baker’s Bay (pursuing the Chinook channel, which passes close to Point Ellice, and is more direct and convenient for vessels bound straight up) four fathoms can be carried up to Tongue Point, which is three miles above Astoria; and just within, or to the westward of, Tongue Point, is a spacious and safe anchorage. From Tongue Point the navigation, for ten miles, is extremely intricate, and some parts of the tortuous channel not over ten feet deep at low water. The straight channel which Captain Wilkes discovered has become obstructed about its eastern entrance, and nothing can be made of it. A channel nearly parallel with it, but to the southward, was traced in my boats, and I devoted a day to its examination, and carried through three fathoms at low water; but my buoys being submerged by the tide, prevented me from testing its availability in the schooner. From Pillow Rock the channel is at least three fathoms deep at the driest season all the way to Fort Vancouver, except a bar of fifteen feet at the lower mouth of the Willamette, and another about a mile and a half below the Fort. The Willamette enters the Columbia from the southward, by two mouths fourteen miles apart: the upper is the only one used, and is six miles below Vancouver. Throughout the months of August and September it is impracticable for vessels drawing over ten feet. Both it and the Columbia, during the other months, will easily accommodate a vessel to back and fill, drawing thirteen feet. The Columbia is navigable to the Cascades, forty miles above Vancouver; the Willamette up to the mouth of the Clackamas River, twenty-one miles above its junction with the Columbia, and three below the Falls where the city of Oregon is located.”

It thus appears that the navigation of the Columbia is by no means impracticable. Skilful pilots stationed at the entrance, can always find a safe channel, and a steam-tug can tow vessels with facility through all the windings of the crooked channel, which, at the lowest stage, has ten feet water; and although no good harbours have as yet been discovered south of Puget’s Sound, the produce of the rich valleys of the Columbia and Willamette can be easily shipped from Oregon City and Vancouver.

The population of Oregon in 1846 was estimated at nine thousand, exclusive of the aboriginal inhabitants, concerning whose number we have no certain information. This enumeration includes a very miscellaneous population—Canadian voyageurs with Indian families, Scotch, English, Irish, and citizens of the United States. Except the last mentioned, nearly all these people were formerly in the employment of the Hudson’s Bay Company, and, after the expiration of their term of service, settled on the soil which then was in dispute between the United States and Great Britain. Now that the boundary-line is permanently settled, they have become American citizens. Of emigrants from the United States, the number was computed at two thousand; probably at the present time it

would not be extravagant to estimate them at twice that number, as we have an account of five hundred wagons having arrived in Oregon in the year 1847. Nearly all the inhabitants of Oregon are settled in the Valley of the Willamette; there are a few at Astoria, and perhaps twenty families north of the Columbia.

Of the Indian population, except the Shoshones, the tribes are generally small. The estimate of Mr. Parker is perhaps as nearly correct as any census we have, though, in most cases, it is thought to be greatly over the mark. He sets down the Shoshones at ten thousand; Nez Percés, two thousand five hundred; Caäguas, two thousand; Utaws, four thousand; Wallawallas, five hundred; Palooses, five hundred; Spokeins, eight hundred; Cœur d'Alene, seven hundred; Flatheads, perhaps as many more: in addition to these, Lieut. Howison mentions the Chinooks, Cowlitzes, Clatsops, and Calapooahs, all of whom together do not number over five hundred souls. All these Indians are in a destitute condition. The Shoshones are forced to subsist upon roots and berries, whence they have received the soubriquet of root-diggers. The buffaloes do not range in any number west of the mountains; game of all kinds is scarce; and the principal animal diet of the natives consists of salmon, which ascend the Columbia and its tributaries in immense shoals, and will constitute a material item in the exports of the country. At present, most of the tribes are well disposed; how long they will remain so, is a question; indeed, the developments of the last year seem to demonstrate that their friendship, like that of the savages of the plains, is a matter of great uncertainty.

With regard to missionary operations among the Indians there is little to be said, because little has been done. We have already adverted to the missionaries employed by our own Church, and to those under the direction of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Touching this subject, we present the following extract from Lieut. Howison, and we do it with deep sorrow; nevertheless, it emanates from an officer of a government friendly to religion, bears the apparent marks of truth, can easily be verified or refuted, and affords to the Church matter for deep reflection, and earnest prayer to God, that he would inspire his servants who are labouring among the heathen, with the spirit of peace and unity; that his Spirit may influence them to abstain from sectarian bitterness and prejudice, and to work cordially together as servants of the same great Master, showing to a gainsaying world that they have learned from the Gospel of Christ the beautiful lessons of truth, peace, and love. After speaking of the relaxation in the missionary enterprise, he goes on to say:—

"Why their efforts came to be discontinued, (for there were at one time many missions in the field, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist, and an independent self-supporting one,) would be a question which it would be difficult to have answered truly. The various recriminations which were uttered, as each member thought proper to secede from his benevolent associates in Christian duty, were not calculated to increase the public respect for their individual disinterestedness or purity. They seem early to have despaired of much success in impressing the minds of the Indians with a just sense of the importance of their lessons, and very sagaciously turned their attention to more fruitful pursuits. Some became farmers and graziers, others undertook the education of the rising generation of whites and half-breeds, and a few set up for traders; but these last imprudently encroached upon a very dear prerogative of the Hudson's Bay Company, by bartering for beaver, and only by hastily quitting it escaped the overwhelming opposition of that all-powerful body. The French missionaries, to wit, a bishop, a number of priests, and seven nuns, are succeeding in their operations. They are amply furnished with money and other means for accomplishing their purposes. They educate a number of young Indians, principally girls, and all the offspring of the Canadians. In addition to a large wooden nunnery, already some years in use, they are now building a brick church of corresponding dimensions, on beautiful prairie grounds, a few miles from the Willamette River, and thirty-two above Oregon City. They are strict Catholics, and exercise unbounded influence over the people of the French settlements, who are improving in every way under their precepts. The mission derives its support from Europe; and I was told that the queen of France, and her daughter, of Belgium, are liberal patronesses of the institution. It is at present in high estimation with all classes; it gives employment and high wages to a great number of mechanics and labourers, pays off punctually in cash, and is, without doubt, contributing largely to the prosperity of the neighbourhood and country around it. A few Jesuits are located within six miles of the mission, and are ostensibly employed in the same praiseworthy occupation.

"The Methodist Institute, designed as an educational establishment for the future generations of Oregon, is still in the hands of gentlemen who were connected with the Methodist mission. It is finely situated on the Willamette, fifty miles above Oregon City. As a building, its exterior was quite imposing from a distance; but I was pained, upon coming up with it, to find its interior apartments in an entirely unfinished state. Mr. Wilson, who is in charge of it, was so hospitable and polite to me that I refrained from asking questions which I was sure, from appearances, would only produce answers confirmatory of its languishing condition. Five little boys were now getting their rudiments of education here; when, from the number of dormitories, it was manifest that it had been the original design to receive more than ten times that number. I learned from Governor Abernethy, however, about the beginning of 1847, that the number of its pupils was fast increasing."

The above quoted passage is suggestive of a few reflections bearing on the subject of missionary operations. We trust, for the sake of the Church, that the observation with regard to the disagreement of the missionaries is too strongly stated: nevertheless, we believe that the statement has some foundation in truth, strange as it may appear to those who suppose, and correctly, too, that the soldier of Christ, engaged in fighting his battles against the powers of paganism and heathenism, should lose sight of all con-

siderations except the accomplishment of his object of carrying the tidings of salvation to perishing souls. Melancholy indeed it is, that those whom the Church has commissioned to one of the highest and noblest trusts ever allotted to the minister of God, should so far forget their solemn calling as to enter into strife with their fellow-labourers in the same field. The world, and especially that class of men who are on the outskirts of civilization, keep a jealous eye upon the actions of the Church, and great is the rejoicing when the enemies of the Gospel detect inconsistencies in the actions of those who should be examples of Christian charity and forbearance. Again: the reports of missionary operations are often too highly coloured; there is too often a tendency to exaggeration, which must eventually in injury to the cause. The minds of ingenuous young men are excited by glowing accounts of the success of the Gospel, and they immediately desire to quit all, and rush to the succour of the perishing heathen. On arriving at the field of their labours the reality falls so far short of their anticipations that their hearts are sick with disappointment; and after a year or two of languid labour, they return disheartened, with their confidence in the practicability of doing good among the heathen much shaken. This is not matter of conjecture; we could give names and dates if necessary. Much is said of the hardships which the missionary must undergo; but it should not be disguised that the great hardships are moral ones, deprivation of society, and continual contact with ignorant and benighted minds. It should ever be borne in mind that the evangelization of the heathen requires an assiduity of effort, and a perseverance which nothing but a high sense of duty, and a prayerful reliance upon God, can enable the Christian minister to sustain; that his progress will be necessarily slow; that he will have to encounter not only bigoted prejudice and bitter opposition, but, what are more disheartening, apathy and indifference on the subject of religion, enough to discourage the stoutest heart; that the simplest truths will have to be reiterated again and again, until the task becomes painfully wearisome; that he will have to spend years of laborious research, in order to master difficult dialects; that he will have to encounter the opposition of profligate white men, and perhaps be discountenanced by the political authorities of his neighbourhood; that he may even be misunderstood and underrated by the Church at home; and that finally, after years of wearisome labour, he may sink into a foreign grave, with only the hope and prayer that his labours will prove not in vain in the Lord. We do not draw this picture to discourage our brethren from entering the missionary service; but the worst should be known, and we have sadly misappreciated our mi-

nisterial brethren if there are not many to be found who are willing to encounter all these obstacles, for the sake of winning souls. If not, there are none worthy to labour in this portion of God's vineyard.

Intimately connected with the business and interests of Oregon is the Hudson's Bay Company. This powerful mercantile association is in some way concerned with all the enterprises going forward, and, to its honour, it has seldom, if ever, made an unwarrantable use of the immense power which it possesses. The destitute emigrant, upon arriving at Fort Vancouver, found shelter and repose after his terrible privations on the route; all his wants were generously supplied, and the means furnished him for preparing him a home on the banks of the Willamette. Without such succour, numbers must have miserably perished, even after arriving at the goal to which they had looked forward with such fond anticipation. Possessing the power to fix the price of all articles of merchandise, and ruin any trader who might come into competition with them, this liberal and far-sighted company furnishes articles necessary to supply the wants of the emigrants at reasonable rates, and does not use unwarrantable means to break down traders whose resources are inferior to its own. In proof of this we refer to the report of Lieut. Howison, and the account of Mr. Palmer, the latter of whom seems to ascribe to the Hudson's Bay Company the merit of restraining the other traders from setting enormous prices on their wares. At present a large proportion of the civilized inhabitants of Oregon consists of those who have been at one time the servants of the Company. These may be naturally supposed to be much under its influence; and although the great tide of emigration annually flowing into Oregon will throw the power into the hands of our own people, yet for many years to come this body will wield a powerful influence on the destinies of the young colony. We are willing to believe that this influence will be exercised on the side of justice, honour, and truth; and sincerely hope that no difficulties will arise between the Company and our own citizens, but that all may live harmoniously together. While on this subject, however, we are sorry to notice that in some instances the generous conduct of the British traders has met an ungrateful return: many who were saved by the company from utter destitution, afterwards refused to meet their obligations, and were loud in their denunciation of the Hudson's Bay Company as a monstrous monopoly. We trust and believe that these instances are not numerous, and that the great body of the emigrants are worthy and upright men. The American pioneer is not the man to be ungrateful for assistance, or refuse to discharge a just

obligation. Of the general character of our citizens in Oregon, Lieut. Howison says:—

“Many allowances should be made in favour of these people. They come generally from among the poorer classes of the Western States, with the praiseworthy design of improving their fortunes. They brave dangers and accomplish Herculean labours on the journey across the mountains. For six months consecutively they have ‘the sky for a pea-jacket,’ and the wild buffalo for company, and during this time are reminded of no law but expediency. That they should, so soon after their union into societies at their new homes, voluntarily place themselves under any restraints of law or penalties whatever, is an evidence of a good disposition, which time will be sure to improve and refine. If some facts I have related would lead to unfavourable opinions of them, it will be understood that the number is very limited—by no means affecting the people as a mass, who deserve to be characterized as honest, brave, and hardy, rapidly improving in those properties and qualities which mark them for future distinction among the civilized portion of the world.”

We take our leave of Lieut. Howison with many thanks for the instruction he has afforded us; and if at any time he should again be employed on similar service, we will be happy to renew our acquaintance with him.

Mr. Palmer was a plain and substantial citizen of Indiana, who went to Oregon to ascertain the capacities of the country. After accomplishing the objects of his journey he returned, removed with his family to Oregon, and is now, we trust, comfortably situated on the banks of the Willamette, where we are certain he will prove himself a useful and worthy citizen. His work makes no literary pretensions; he notes things as he saw them, and is more anxious to give correct impressions than glowing description; and although there are many more scientific journals of travels and explorations in Oregon, there is none which we would so cordially recommend to any person who desires correct and useful information preparatory to undertaking the overland journey to the Pacific. Distances from camp to camp, the character of the soil over which the emigration travelled, the best points for water and grass, the most eligible fords for crossing streams, the necessary outfits, the dangers and difficulties to be surmounted, in fact, all points of interest, are carefully noted, forming a complete and correct guide-book for the future emigrant.

He left Independence on the 6th of May, and joined the main body of the emigrants, who were some distance in advance, on the 13th. After settling such preliminaries as were deemed necessary for their government on the route, the party, with one hundred and seventy wagons, crossed Big Soldier Creek, and were fairly on the road to Oregon. The road crosses the Kansas and several of its tributaries, passes along Blue River, next striking the Platte, skirt-

ing along that stream to the point where its north and south branches unite, following the latter forty-five miles, thence twenty miles across to the north branch, up this and its tributary, the Sweet-water, which heads directly in a gap in the Wind River chain of the Rocky Mountains, this gap being the celebrated South Pass. After passing this barrier, the trace lies along the head-waters of the Colorado, crosses to Bear River, a tributary of the great Salt Lake, winds along this singular stream for a long distance, thence strikes across to a tributary of Lewis's River, follows this stream and its tributaries, striking the Columbia near Fort Wallawalla. The road lies along the last-mentioned stream to a point known as the Dalles,—the remainder of the journey being usually performed by water to Fort Vancouver, which may be regarded as the termination of the route. Having thus given a summary of the travelled road, there are a few points connected with this part of our subject which deserve to be noticed more in detail. From Independence to Fort Laramie the road is generally a level or rolling prairie, through which wind several small streams, along whose banks is found sufficient timber for the wants of the emigrants, although they are occasionally compelled to use the *bois de vache*, (excrement of the buffalo,) which serves as a very good substitute for firewood. These plains are covered with a dense growth of coarse but nutritious grass, and are enamelled with beautiful flowers, presenting, in the spring and summer, scenes of surpassing richness and beauty. Occasionally the traveller meets with the encampment of that interesting and singular little animal, the prairie dog, or wishtonwish;—a description of which by Mr. Palmer we here subjoin:—

“These singular communities may be seen often along the banks of the Platte, occupying various areas, from one to five hundred acres. The prairie dog is something larger than a common sized gray squirrel, of a dun colour; the head resembles that of a bull-dog; the tail is about three inches in length. Their food is prairie grass. Like rabbits, they burrow in the ground, throwing out heaps of earth, and often large stones, which remain at the mouth of their holes. The entrance to their burrow is about four inches in diameter, and runs obliquely into the earth about three feet, when the holes ramify in every direction, and connect with each other on every side. Some kind of police seems to be observed among them; for at the approach of man, one of the dogs will run to the entrance of a burrow, and, squatting down, utter a shrill bark. At once, the smaller part of the community will retreat to their holes, while numbers of the larger dogs will squat, like the first, at their doors, and unite in the barking. A near approach drives them all under ground. It is singular, but true, that the little screech-owl and the rattlesnake keep them company in their burrows. I have frequently seen the owls, but not the snake, with them. The mountaineers, however, inform me that they often catch all three in the same hole. The dog is eaten by the Indians, with quite a relish; and often by the mountaineers. I am not prepared to speak of its qualities as an article of food.”

In addition to the animals above enumerated as inhabiting the burrow of the prairie dog, General Pike, in his narrative of an expedition to explore the country about the head-waters of the Arkansas, observed that the horned lizard also lives on friendly terms with the little creature. We are disposed to think, with Mr. Kendall, that the rattlesnake is an intruder; and perhaps the others also find it much more convenient to occupy a home already built and furnished, than to expend the labour necessary to the erection of a comfortable domicile; and the rightful owner probably submits to this state of things, less from a naturally sociable and accommodating disposition, than from inability to exclude the uninvited guests.

At the forks of the Platte commences the great buffalo range; and here is the grand rendezvous and war-ground of the Sioux, Pawnees, Arapahoes, and Cheyennes,—large and powerful tribes, who roam the vast plains from the confines of Missouri to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Missouri to the Arkansas, leading a life of savage independence, and subsisting principally on the buffalo; now trading peaceably with the whites, and again plundering small parties who have not strength to protect themselves;—never venturing, however, to make any hostile demonstrations, unless the odds are immensely in their favour. The fate of these great tribes may be easily foretold: the buffalo will rapidly decrease in numbers, being wantonly slaughtered both by the Indians and emigrants; hostile collisions of the tribes will become more frequent;—(indeed, it is said that even now there is a league formed with the avowed purpose of exterminating the Pawnees;) a conviction that the inroads of the whites are rapidly destroying the game on which they rely for support, will lead to heart-burnings and bitterness, which will induce them to assume a permanently hostile attitude, and render it incumbent on the government to establish among them military posts, in order to protect emigrating parties. After this, their progress towards extinction will be fearfully rapid; for, although the conclusion we have drawn is not inevitable, it has in its favour the greatest degree of probability. Here, without proceeding further, opens a wide field for benevolent effort,—a view of which, however, we have not the space to lay before our readers.

Proceeding along the north fork of the Platte, the road passes by two remarkable land-marks, which are worthy of note: these are the Tower Rock and the Chimney. These are marl formations; the former presents, at a distance, an exceedingly picturesque view, having the appearance of ancient ruins on a gigantic scale. The Chimney Rock is a solitary projection, much resembling the chimney of a manufactory, or reminding one of a shot-tower, and is ele-

vated two hundred feet above the river. The next point of note is Fort Laramie, a trading-post, six hundred and twenty miles from Independence; here may be located the termination of the plains, as the road here strikes into the Black Hills, and winds through a rough region which may be denominated the outposts of the Rocky Mountains. After leaving the South Pass, which is near nine hundred miles from Independence, and may be set down as the half-way point in the journey, the next remarkable tract of country is the valley of Bear River. This singular country presents evident marks of volcanic action, and exhibits scenery of stupendous magnificence.

We should be happy to quote at length from Mr. Palmer's description of the road, but cannot afford the space; and, therefore, only notice hastily the remaining prominent points on the journey. The first is Fort Hall, where emigrants can buy, at the modest rate of twenty dollars per hundred weight, flour brought on horses and mules from Oregon city. The second is Fort Boisé. Both establishments belong to the Hudson's Bay Company. One hundred and twenty-two miles from Fort Boisé is the Grand Round, a beautiful and fertile valley, walled in by mountains, of about six hundred square miles extent. It affords a most eligible site for a settlement, and will doubtless be occupied, before many years, by an enterprising and industrious colony. One hundred and sixty-five miles from the Grand Round are the Dalles, or rapids of the Columbia; and here, generally, is the termination of the voyage by land, the remaining distance being usually accomplished in boats. Mr. Palmer, however, determined to attempt the passage of the Cascade range of mountains, and, after almost incredible hardships, succeeded in his perilous enterprise. The result of his exploration was the conclusion, that a practical wagon road from the Dalles to Oregon City can be found to the southward of Mount Hood, which was formerly supposed to form an impassable barrier. He arrived at Oregon City on the first day of November, having been nearly six months on the way.

We believe we need not apologize for quoting largely from Mr. Palmer's description of Oregon; for although his style may not charm the fastidious, we are sure that his truthful and exact accounts must possess peculiar interest to the practical man, and it is for such that we write. Oregon City contained, at the time of Mr. Palmer's visit, about six hundred souls; possesses an unlimited amount of water-power, and will, for a long time to come, be the capital of the young colony. The following is a description of the Willamette valley:—

“The Willamette Valley, including the first plateaus of the cascade and

coast ranges of mountains, may be said to average a width of about sixty, and a length of about two hundred miles. It is beautifully diversified with timber and prairie. Unlike our great prairies east of the Rocky Mountains, those upon the waters of the Pacific are quite small; instead of dull and sluggish streams, to engender miasma, to disease and disgust man, those of this valley generally run quite rapidly, freeing the country of such vegetable matter as may fall into them, and are capable of being made subservient to the will and comfort of the human family, in propelling machinery. Their banks are generally lined with fine groves of timber for purposes of utility, and adding much to please the eye.

"The Willamette itself, throughout its length, has generally a growth of fir and white cedar, averaging from one-fourth to three miles in width, which are valuable both for agricultural and commercial purposes. Its banks are generally about twenty feet above the middling stages, yet there are some low ravines (in the country called *slues*) which are filled with water during freshets, and at these points the bottoms are overflowed; but not more so than those upon the rivers east of Mississippi. It has already been observed that the soil in these bottoms and in the prairies is very rich; it is a black, alluvial deposit of muck and loam; in the timbered portions it is more inclined to be sandy, and the higher ground is of a reddish coloured clay and loam. The whole seems to be very productive, especially of wheat, for which it can be safely said, that it is not excelled by any portion of the continent. The yield of this article has frequently been fifty bushels to the acre, and in one case Dr. White harvested from ten acres, an average of over fifty-four bushels to the acre; but the most common crop is from thirty to forty bushels per acre, of fall sowing, and from twenty to twenty-five bushels from spring sowing."

Emptying into the Willamette are several tributaries, along whose banks are fine fertile tracts of country. The Tualitz, the Shahalam, the Yamhill, the Rickerall, the Luckymate, the Mouse River, and one which rejoices in the elegant *soubriquet* of Long Tom Bath, all have their origin in the Coast range of mountains, and run eastwardly; on the east side of the river are several small tributaries, also bordered by excellent farming countries. After crossing a ridge of mountains extending from the Cascade to the Coast range, we come into the valley of the Umpqua, extending forty miles east and west, and the valley of Rogue's River, of nearly the same extent. Still farther to the south extends the magnificent valley of the Klamet, affording a greater scope of country than even the basin of the Willamette. Through this section will pass the road from Oregon to California. The present barrier to the settlement of these last two valleys, is the hostility of the Indians; but this is an obstacle which no doubt will shortly be overcome.

It will be seen that the country hitherto described, includes only that part of Oregon enclosed between the Pacific and the Cascade range of mountains, and between the Columbia and California. With regard to the country north of the Columbia, the information is rather meagre; but enough is known to render it probable that this section is fully equal to any other, and it has the advantage of a good harbour on Puget's Sound, which, however, does not belong to the United

States. Pending the discussion of the boundary question, settlers of course felt a hesitation in settling north of the river, as it was confidently believed and asserted by the British inhabitants, that the Columbia would be the boundary between the two countries; and there is reason to believe that British subjects spared no effort to prevent settlers from entering that portion of the country, representing it as being of no value in an agricultural point of view. It is notorious, that upon this point the English government was much better informed than our own. Mr. Palmer learned, both from information acquired in the country, and from actual observation, that the region north of the Columbia abounded in valleys of rich, well-timbered, and well-watered soil, and it is well known that the Hudson's Bay Company have large and productive farms on the Cowlitz, which enters the Columbia from the north.

The inviting characteristic of Oregon is the salubrity and mildness of its climate. Cattle, hogs, and horses subsist through the mild winter, without any care upon the part of their owners; finding abundant nourishment in the rich grass which grows in the sequestered valleys. From a meteorological table, kept by Mr. Palmer from the first of November until the fifth of March, we learn that forty days were clear, twenty decidedly rainy, and the remainder showery: during this time no snow fell in the valleys; not more than fifteen nights were frosty, and the ice never much exceeded a quarter of an inch in thickness. Altogether, we suppose, that from 42° to 49° N., the climate corresponds to that between 32° and 39° N., on the Atlantic coast, except that in Oregon the summers are milder than on this side of the Rocky Mountains. All the cereal grains, except maize, produce abundantly; potatoes yield very large returns.

Mr. Palmer thinks that this territory will eventually be formed into three states: one including all the country north of the Columbia; a second, that portion bounded by that river, the forty-second parallel, and the Cascade mountains: and the third, the territory between the Cascade range and the Rocky Mountains. Concerning this latter state in embryo, we subjoin a passage from a letter written by the Rev. Mr. Spaulding to Mr. Palmer:—

"The lower country is subject to inundations, to a greater or less extent, from the Columbia River, which, gathering into standing pools, with the great amount of vegetable decay consequent upon low prairie countries, produce, to some extent, unhealthy fogs during the summer season. This, however, is greatly moderated by the sea-breezes from the Pacific. The middle region is entirely free from these evils, and has probably one of the most pacific, healthy, and every way most desirable climates in the world. This, with its extensive prairies, covered with a superior quality of grass tuft, or bunch

grass, which springs fresh twice a year, and spotted and streaked everywhere with springs and streams of the purest, sweetest water, renders it admirably adapted to the herding system." * * * *

We must bring our notice to a close, furnishing one more extract, which we commend to the notice of emigrants who wish to accomplish the overland journey to Oregon.

"Ox-teams are more extensively used than any others. Oxen stand the trip much better, and are not so liable to be stolen by the Indians, and are much less trouble. Cattle are generally allowed to go at large, when not hitched to the wagons, whilst horses and mules must always be staked up at night. Oxen can procure food in many places where horses cannot, and in much less time. Cattle that have been raised in Illinois or Missouri, stand the trip better than those raised in Indiana or Ohio, as they have been accustomed to eating the prairie grass, upon which they must wholly rely while on the road. Great care should be taken in selecting cattle; they should be from four to six years old, tight, and heavy made.

"For those who fit out but one wagon, it is not safe to start with less than four yoke of oxen, as they are liable to get lame, have sore necks, or to stray away. One team, thus fitted up, may start from Missouri with twenty-five hundred pounds, and as each day's rations makes the load that much lighter, before they reach any rough road, their loading is much reduced. Persons should recollect that everything in the outfit should be as light as the required strength will permit. The loading should consist of provisions and apparel, a necessary supply of cooking fixtures, and a few tools, &c. No great speculation can be made in buying cattle and driving them through to sell; but as the prices of oxen and cows are much higher in Oregon than in the States, nothing is lost in having a good supply of them, which will enable the emigrant to wagon through many articles that are difficult to be obtained in Oregon. Each family should have a few cows, as the milk can be used the entire route, and they are often convenient to put to the wagon to relieve oxen. They should be so selected that portions of them would come in fresh upon the road. Sheep can also be advantageously driven. . . . Each male person should have at least one rifle gun; and a shot-gun is also very useful for wild fowl and small game, of which there is an abundance. The best sized calibre for the mountains is from thirty-two to fifty-six to the pound; but one of from sixty to eighty, or even less, is best when in the lower settlements. The buffalo seldom range beyond the South Pass, and never west of Green River. The large game are elk, deer, antelope, mountain sheep, or big-horn, and bear. The small game are hare, rabbit, grouse, sage hen, pheasant, quail, &c. A good supply of ammunition is essential. . . . In laying in a supply of provisions for the journey, persons will doubtless be governed, in some degree, by their means; but there are a few essentials that all will require. . . . For each adult there should be two hundred pounds of flour, thirty pounds of pilot-bread, seventy-five pounds of bacon, ten pounds of rice, five pounds of coffee, two pounds of tea, twenty-five pounds of sugar, half a bushel of dried beans, one bushel of dried fruit, two pounds of salæratus, ten pounds of salt, half a bushel of corn meal; and it is well to have a half bushel of corn parched and ground; a small keg of vinegar should also be taken. To the above may be added as many good things as the means of the person will enable him to carry, for whatever is good at home, is none the less so on the road. The above will be ample for the journey; but should an additional quantity be taken, it can readily be disposed of in the mountains, and at good prices, not for cash, but for robes, dressed skins, bucskin pants, moccasins, &c. It is also well for families to be provided with medicines. It is seldom, however,

that emigrants are sick ; but sometimes eating too freely of fresh buffalo meat causes diarrhœa, which, unless it be checked, soon prostrates the individual, and leaves him a fit subject for disease. The time usually occupied in making the trip from Missouri to Oregon City is about five months ; but with the aid of a person who has travelled the route with an emigrating company, the trip can be performed in about four months."

At the close of the volume are a table of distances, and lists of words in the Chinook and Nez Percé dialects : concerning these lists we have only to remark, that Mr. Palmer has committed the blunder of inserting for Indian words, many that are manifestly merely the attempt of the Aborigines to pronounce after the English and French ; for instance, *stogon*, sturgeon ; *smoek*, smoke ; *shut*, shirt ; *hankerchim*, handkerchief ; *krappo*, (*crapaud*,) a toad ; *la-sel*, (*la selle*,) saddle, &c. ; but, as we observed in the outset, he makes no literary pretensions, and philology is not his strong point : we trust, however, that he has succeeded in raising, during the present year, large crops of grain, and hope that success may crown his efforts to improve his fortune. Should we, in the course of providence, be thrown in his neighbourhood, we will be most happy to take him by the hand, receive from him a cordial Hoosier welcome, and hear from his lips all matters pertaining to the condition and prospects of Oregon.

In taking leave of this subject, we desire to subjoin a remark on one or two points connected with Missionary operations. Every day is adding cogency to the reasons why we should strengthen our force in Oregon. There are probably at this time ten thousand of our own citizens, and twenty thousand Indians, who are scantily supplied with the bread of life. Those familiar with the character of the American people, know with what astonishing rapidity they accomplish their undertakings ; levelling the forests, and in a very short space of time arriving at a degree of prosperity perfectly astounding to a European ; and the Church that aspires to success in its operations, must commence its labours at once, and grow up, as it were, with the community. We claim for the Methodist Episcopal Church the merit of being emphatically the pioneer of Christianity, and whilst we utterly disclaim any desire or intention to disparage or thwart the efforts of other denominations, we are anxious that our doctrines should take root and thrive in every portion of the earth.

It is a melancholy fact, that the diminution of the Aborigines keeps an even ratio with the increase of the whites. Whatever is done for these unfortunate people, must be accomplished speedily, or the opportunity is lost forever. Missionaries are needed amongst them, to counteract the evil influences of selfish and malicious white men. It is highly probable that difficulties between our people and

the Indians often have their origin with depraved citizens, who frequently excite a spirit of hostility in order to bring upon the savages the powerful arm of the government, which condition of things is, by the unscrupulous, turned to profit in various ways; it is even hinted that the late disturbances in Oregon were brought about in this way, in order to induce the United States to hasten the establishment of a territorial government.

A thought or two as to the men to be employed in this enterprise, and we have done. They should be men fearing God, and fearing nothing else; men who are willing to trample under foot all considerations of a temporal nature, regarding their ease and convenience as of no consequence when these interfere in any way with their power of doing good. In short, the Missionary should be willing to endure, for the cause of the gospel, what the trader, and trapper do for the purpose of making money; and although, to one delicately nurtured, this may seem hard, nothing short of this will answer the purpose.

We think the West has strong claims to the honour of sending out men to labour in this field. A large majority of the people of Oregon and California will consist of emigrants from the western States of the Union: many of them have been converted and have joined the Church under the ministry of western preachers, and would, no doubt, fervently desire to be under the charge of their former spiritual guides, who are much better acquainted with their wants and feelings than a stranger possibly could be. Missionaries from the western States can be sent with less expense to the Board, than men from any other quarter. Moreover, western men are already, to a great extent, practical Missionaries; there are many of them who once had a third of the State of Indiana for a circuit, who had to swim the rivers, sleep on a blanket, and were often in need of the necessities of life; many of them were brought much in contact with the Aborigines, and gained much practical knowledge of the Indian character. But we will not insist on this point; we have all confidence that the Church will select men suited for the stations they are designed to occupy: but on one point we are strenuous, and that is, that the Church should put in operation every practicable and righteous plan for the spread of Methodism in Oregon.

Since this article was written the political organization of Oregon into a Territory has been completed. The Territorial Legislature met at the city of Oregon on the 16th of July, 1849, and continued in session for ten days. The election for delegate to Congress had resulted in the choice of S. R. Thurston, Esq., said to be a very

capable man. The Territory has been divided into judicial districts, and now all the machinery of regular government is in operation.

The "Oregon and California Mission Conference" will be organized, in all probability, within the present year, (1849.) The clouds that have so long hung on our Missions in that quarter are rapidly dispersing. The Church will yet rejoice over her labours, her sacrifices, and even her discouragements, on the western coast of America. Nor is the day of her rejoicing, in our opinion, very far distant; already there are signs of its breaking. The men whom the Church has sent there are, we verily believe, in the language of the above article, "men fearing God, and fearing nothing else;—men who are willing to trample under foot all considerations of a temporal nature," and ready to do and suffer all things for the cause of their Master. The superintendent, Rev. WILLIAM ROBERTS, is well known to us. He is a man of untiring energy, of great administrative capacity, of unquestioned piety, and of remarkable talent as a preacher. The Church has reason to thank God, that, in his good Providence, this responsible duty of superintending this Mission, and of organizing the new Conference, has fallen into such competent hands. His fellow-labourers, we have no doubt, are equally competent and faithful in their respective spheres of duty. The appointments made at the last annual meeting of the preachers (April, 1849) were as follows:—

Oregon City, David Leslie.

Salem, William Helm, J. L. Parish.

Yamhill, A. F. Waller, John M'Kinney, Jas. O. Raynor, and Jos. S. Smith.

Astoria and Clatsop, to be supplied.

Oregon Institute, James H. Wilbur, Principal.

The statistics of the Mission, according to the last Annual Report of the Superintendent, were as follows:—

	Whites.	Coloured.	L. Elders.	L. Dea.	L. Pra.	S. Schools.	Offs. & Tchs.	Schools.	Vols. in Lib'ry
Oregon City and Clackamas	51	0	0	0	0	1	6	35	150
Salem - - - - -	105	1	0	1	6	1	11	73	150
Calapooya - - - - -	36	0	0	1	0	0	00	00	000
Mary's River - - - - -	81	0	1	0	4	0	00	00	000
Yamhill - - - - -	147	0	0	0	3	0	00	00	000
Fualatine Plains - - - - -	16	0	0	1	1	0	00	00	000
Portland - - - - -	7	0	0	0	0	1	3	31	106
Total - - - - -	443	1	1	3	14	3	20	139	406
Last Year - - - - -	315	0	0	2	17	3	19	108	300
Increase - - - - -	128	1	1	1	00	0	1	31	106
Decrease - - - - -	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	00	000

In the above, those schools which were discontinued in the winter are not

included. If they are added, the *total* estimate will be 13 schools, 55 officers and teachers, 334 scholars, and 756 volumes in libraries.

The OREGON INSTITUTE is one of the most important features in our Missionary work in the country. We find the following account of it in a letter published in the New-York Observer; and we present it to our readers the more willingly, as it is from an entirely unprejudiced source:—

"After crossing the prairie we entered the forest, and before dark reached the 'Institute,' where we were most cordially welcomed by the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Wilbur, principals of the institution. The following statement of facts may not be uninteresting in this connexion. After undergoing various changes, this institution seems now to have entered upon a career of usefulness exactly suited to the rising wants of Oregon. The building now occupied by the school was originally erected for the benefit of the aborigines of the country, and ultimately designed for the white population, should the former become extinct. That time has arrived much sooner than was anticipated. The building measures seventy-four feet in length, twenty-four in width, having two wings twenty-four feet square. The main building is three stories high, and the wings two stories. All is built of wood, painted white. It is now only partially completed, but when done will be admirably suited to the purposes of an academy. At present, more than eighty pupils are connected with the institution, who are divided into two departments, a primary and advanced class. The former is under Mrs. Wilbur's charge, and the latter under that of the Rev. Mr. Wilbur. I learn that the studies are the same as those pursued in the schools and academies of the Eastern States. It is the design of the friends of the institution to complete the building, secure the labours of additional teachers as soon as possible, and raise the standard of scholarship as high as is desirable.

"The building occupies an admirable site in the town of Salem, and is central, as regards the population of the Territory. This place is the headquarters of Methodist influence. Near by the Institute resides the Rev. Mr. Roberts, superintendent of the Oregon Methodist Episcopal mission. He succeeded the Rev. Mr. Gary. Mr. Roberts is regarded as an eloquent preacher, and a most energetic business man. He is just such a man as is needed to manage the affairs of a system of intineracy, like that of the Methodist ministry. He has a good report among those of other denominations. The most prominent settlements of Oregon are now supplied with the preaching of the Gospel by the Methodists. In years past, from causes which I need not mention, the reputation of the gentlemen connected with the Methodist mission in Oregon suffered, but the tide is now changing. There can be no doubt that the Methodists in Oregon have done a great and good work for the Territory. Their voices have been raised in favour of the Sabbath, temperance, and education, while they have not failed to proclaim the everlasting Gospel. Had it not been for the mission, the country must have been comparatively destitute of Gospel ministers."

At the August meeting of the Board, the Rev. NEHEMIAH DOANE, of the Genesee Conference, was appointed to the Oregon Institute. He sailed from this port on the 16th of October, 1849 in the "Empire City," designing to take the Pacific Mail Steamer at Panama, for San Francisco, in November. He has, doubtless, before this time, entered upon his duties at the Institute.

FOURTH SERIES, VOL. II.—4

ART. III.—REV. JESSE LEE.

The Life and Times of the Rev. Jesse Lee. By LEROY M. LEE, D. D., Richmond, Va. Published by JOHN EARLY. 1848. 8vo., pp. 517.

CHRISTIAN biography is among the most excellent forms of religious literature; and whoever contributes anything really valuable to its stock, deserves the thanks of the religious public. We accordingly tender our acknowledgments to the author of the work before us, for this really excellent contribution to the scanty records of early Methodism. The life of the Rev. Jesse Lee has been generally recognized as worthy of the attention of all who are curious as to early Methodist history, and several efforts have been made to give a narrative of his labours, and to delineate his character. His own "History of the Methodists" contains many important passages of his personal history; and a brief and rather meagre "Memoir," by Rev. Minton Thrift, was published a few years after his death. The "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," by Dr. Bangs, contains a pretty full account of the life and labours of Mr. Lee, though necessarily rather concisely expressed. The story of his labours and triumphs in New-England, constituting one of the most interesting periods of his life, is detailed at length in the animated sketches of the "Memorials of the Introduction of Methodism in the Eastern States." Still it was felt that a satisfactory biography of a man whose career was at once so full of incidents, and so eventful in its ulterior consequences, was a desideratum.

Impressed with this sentiment, the author of the book named at the head of this paper undertook the labour of preparing the needed work. His relation to the subject of his story (being a son of a younger brother) gave him peculiar facilities for gaining the requisite information, while it increased his interest in his theme. He also brought to his work some experience in book-making, and great facility in composition, acquired by a long course of newspaper editorship. The critical reader will readily detect faults in the book; but these are only incidental, while its excellences are its great features. The style wants precision and elegance; qualities not to be acquired, except by thorough discipline and much careful practice, and then only where there is a natural aptitude for the *belles lettres*. The argumentation and the grouping of the minor subjects are often faulty, indicating a want of exact and discriminating habits of thinking. Still the plan of the work is generally good; but the writer has not escaped a very common foible,—

unnecessary fulness and prolixity. Had the book been subjected to a judicious but much-needed pruning, it might have been reduced to three-quarters its present size, without sacrificing anything valuable, and greatly to the advantage of its vigour and sprightliness. The spirit and temper of the work are highly commendable; there is a suavity and gentleness of manner everywhere manifested, that could hardly have been expected from one long exercised in the gladiatorial exercises of newspaper controversy. The book will serve to refresh and gladden the devout heart, no less than to please the intellectual and gratify the curious.

In 1774, Mr. Robert Williams was preaching and forming societies in and about Norfolk and Petersburg. In one of his itinerant excursions he passed into Prince George county, and came to the residence of a plain, but substantial farmer, named Lee. In this family the wandering evangelist found some who could sympathize with his own religious sentiments, and commune with his spirit of the deep things of the Spirit of God. A short time before this, his host, and several members of the family, had been brought to a saving experience of the grace of God, under the labours of Rev. Devereaux Jarratt, rector of Bath parish, in Dinwiddie county. At this time Mr. Lee and his wife, and two sons, became members of the Methodist Society. Soon after, Brunswick circuit was formed, and their house became one of the regular preaching-places. This was the beginning of Methodism, as an organized body, in Virginia; and prominent among its early and steadfast friends were the family of Nathaniel Lee—of whom was one whose name is a household word among American Methodists, and whose reputation is cherished as a rich legacy by the Church.

Jesse Lee was born on the 12th of March, 1758. He received the rudiments of a plain English education, and was somewhat carefully instructed in the catechism of the Established Church. He was fourteen years old when his father was made a subject of saving grace; by which event his own mind was strongly affected in regard to religious duty and experience. He was soon after decidedly awakened to a sense of sin. His convictions were deep and pungent; his prayers for pardon earnest and importunate; and he was presently enabled to rejoice in the Rock of his salvation. Very soon after, together with both his parents and a younger brother, he joined the infant Methodist Society of the neighbourhood. Thus planted in the garden of the Lord, he rapidly advanced in religious knowledge and experience, and soon became strong in the Lord. The spirit of revival was abroad in the community, and his own soul drank deeply of its sacred influences. Thus was begun a course of

religious life and of evangelical labours, by means of which his name has become precious to the hearts and memories of multitudes of his children in the Gospel.

At the age of eighteen, Mr. Lee left his paternal home, and went to reside with a widowed relative in North Carolina. A change of residence, which has often proved disastrous to youthful piety, had in this case the opposite effect. A Methodist Society had been formed near his new place of abode, to which he immediately attached himself, and of which he was soon made the leader. The duty that was assumed as a cross, proved a means of great spiritual profit. His class-room soon became too limited a field for his enlarged charity and burning zeal for souls; he held prayer-meetings in his own and adjoining neighbourhoods, and endeavoured to persuade his fellow-creatures to be reconciled to God. In this an unseen Hand was leading him in a way that he knew not, and preparing him for a still wider field of usefulness and duty. He also studied theology, not as a science, but as a system of divine truth, involving his own eternal interests and those of all men,—and, as such, he delighted to explore its mysteries and to declare its saving power. In this spirit of mind he read the word of God, till he became mighty in the Scripture; and under the influence of the Holy Spirit, he imbibed the spirit of Baxter, Doddridge, and Wesley, from their writings, till his piety glowed with a clear and steady flame. Such was Jesse Lee's theological education and preparation for the work of the Christian ministry.

When he was about twenty-two years of age, his mind began to be drawn out towards another and wider field of action. The office and work of the ministry began to assume a deep and overwhelming interest in his mind. A "still small voice" seemed to invite him to it, and a secret impulse in his heart inclined him to yield to the invitation. But when he thought of the magnitude of the work, and of its awful responsibilities, his heart misgave him; and if at any time he reasoned with flesh and blood, every motive from that source strongly dissuaded from such a course.

The subject of a personal designation to the ministerial office is often a most perplexing, as it is always a most weighty, question. Very few have refused to confess that Christ chooses his own ministers; but there is more diversity of opinion as to the mode of calling them into his service. Some have been found claiming to be so called, whose only credentials were their own assumptions. Others, with a fonder, and scarcely less pernicious enthusiasm, make the call to the ministry a merely ecclesiastical affair, as if Christ had devolved his most sacred prerogatives upon the Church, and could

not himself communicate with the individual conscience. And yet others make it a matter of merely human prudence, to be judged of and determined as ordinary matters of religious duty. All these notions are fundamentally defective, and yet each contains a portion of the truth. The call to the ministry, no doubt, proceeds directly from the Head of the Church, and is by himself communicated to the conscious perceptions of the chosen vessel of his grace. But the Church is God's own institution, and through this he delights to confer his richest gifts upon men. If the individual may be the subject of divine impressions impelling to the sacred duties of the ministry, it surely is not too much to believe that when one is so called, the Church will also be led to perceive and recognize the divine designation, and to receive joyfully the accredited messenger of the grace of God. Nor should the determination of a calm and enlightened judgment be disregarded in this matter, especially when it is exercised in perfect subjection to the word and Spirit of God.

Nevertheless, the call to the ministry is primarily and chiefly the work of the Holy Ghost, effected directly upon the heart and understanding of its subject. He causes the work of the ministry to rise up, in inviting prospect, before the soul in the hour of solemn devotion, and urges to enter the field already white to the harvest. He perplexes the spirit with partially understood intimations of prospective duty, even while the heart is suffused with an abundance of heavenly peace. He impels to the designated duty from the midst of the fulness of self-distrust; and gives a sacred delight in obedience, though labours and reproaches be the only earthly recompense.

Impelled by such exercises, and guided by the light thus shed upon his mind, Jesse Lee, after having filled the office of a local preacher for about three years, gave himself wholly to the work of the ministry. In 1782, before he had been received into Conference, he accompanied Edward Dromgoole, who was sent to form a new circuit in the vicinity of Edenton, in North Carolina. He entered upon his new employment with a sincere devotion to the cause, but with great trepidations and many misgivings as to his ability and fitness for so great a work. In this field he continued till the succeeding session of the Virginia Conference.

The Methodist itinerant ministry of that period presented many striking peculiarities. Seldom has the Church seen the example of a devotion so ardent and disinterested. The whole country was a mission-field, and the Conferences were missionary societies: but *they had no treasuries*. The preachers literally obeyed the direction given to the seventy evangelists, and

went out without purse or scrip. A preacher's outfit consisted of a horse, saddled and bridled, a pair of saddle-bags, and a Bible and hymn-book; and these he must procure for himself. Thus equipped, the devoted missionary would sally out from Conference in search of his circuit,—which often existed only in name,—in the high anticipation of his steadfast faith. When arrived within the appointed district, his next care was to gain access to the people. Occasionally, though not often, a church could be obtained; sometimes a school-house or court-house, and more frequently a private dwelling, served instead; and in default of all these, the indomitable messenger of grace would proclaim the gospel by the way-side, or on the public promenade. Having thus struck a blow, he would give out an appointment to preach in that place again after a few weeks, and then hasten away to go through the same process in another place, leaving his astonished auditors to reflect upon what they had heard. Thus he would proceed from place to place, till called back to his first appointment, continually enlarging his work till he had a sufficient number of regular appointments to occupy all his time, preaching almost every day, and traversing a wide extent of country.

For his maintenance he literally trusted to Providence, and sometimes experienced interpositions little less than miraculous. He was never burdened with the cares of a family; for if at any time a travelling preacher married, he, of course, retired from the itinerancy. Among the scattered population of Virginia,—a people proverbial for hospitality,—no stranger would be denied a welcome, and the early Methodist preachers experienced the benefit of this rustic hospitality. The country was very inadequately supplied with the ordinances of religion, and the gospel was generally listened to with sincere interest. The love of novelty was gratified by the periodical returns of the circuit preachers; and the preaching-day, in many cases, became an epoch to be anticipated and remembered with a lively satisfaction. The near conformity of their mode of worship to that of the more zealous of the clergy of the old establishment, saved the Methodist itinerants from the odium of ecclesiastical prejudices, so that they were often received joyfully by those who had before adhered to the English Church. To this unusual course of life and labour, Mr. Lee had now fully devoted himself and all his energies.

The ecclesiastical condition of American Methodism was at this time anomalous and embarrassing. In sixteen years it had grown from the smallest beginning to a very considerable magnitude, comprising over eighty travelling preachers, and fourteen thousand members of society. The war of the revolution had expelled nearly

all of the parish clergy; and the return of peace left the country without any ecclesiastical system. The Methodist preachers succeeded to the vacated places of the absconding clergy, as religious teachers; but not to their benefices, nor their ecclesiastical authorities. But the people required the sacraments from their new teachers; and being unskilled in ecclesiastical subtleties, they could not see why those who preached the word should not also dispense the sacraments of the Gospel; and many of the preachers entertained similar views. But Mr. Asbury, who was still recognized as the head of the Methodists in America, was strongly opposed to such an assumption on the part of the preachers; and in this he was seconded by most of the oldest and more influential of his brethren. However, in 1779, the Virginia preachers determined to submit to the privation no longer, and so began to administer the sacraments; but their course was disapproved by their more northern brethren, and, for a while, a rupture seemed inevitable. Nor was the difference fully adjusted till the whole affair was settled in the organization of the Church, five years afterwards.

When the celebrated Christmas Conference met in Baltimore, Mr. Lee was engaged in his labours upon Salisbury circuit; for though he had been invited to that assembly by a letter from Freeborn Garrettson, yet, on account of the shortness of the notice, and other unfavourable circumstances, he determined to continue in his work. At the close of the Conference, Mr. Asbury, now a bishop, set off on a tour to the south, intending to proceed as far as Charleston, in South Carolina. He was accompanied by the Rev. Henry Willis, one of the newly ordained elders; and passing through Mr. Lee's circuit, the bishop requested him also to join them in their expedition. They passed through Cheraw and Georgetown; and on Saturday, the 26th of February, arrived at Charleston. The next day Mr. Lee and Mr. Willis each preached to a small congregation assembled in an old meeting-house that had been procured for the occasion; the bishop attended worship elsewhere. But on the next Wednesday evening, of which public notice had been given, he began preaching in the same place; and for seven successive evenings he proclaimed the Gospel of Christ to large and deeply attentive auditories. The impression was salutary, and has proved to be lasting. A work of religion began from that time, and Mr. Willis was left to cultivate the field thus opened; but Mr. Lee returned with Bishop Asbury, and resumed his toil in Virginia.

For three successive years Mr. Lee received his appointments farther and farther northward, till we find him, in May, 1789, at the New-York Conference, at which time he received his appointment

to Stamford circuit, in the State of Connecticut, the first appointment ever made to a circuit in New-England. To this event he had looked forward with much interest for several years. His mind was directed towards that part of the country at an early period of his ministry, and in a manner somewhat remarkable. While on the southern tour referred to above, at Cheraw, in South Carolina, he formed a brief acquaintance with a young man from Massachusetts, who gave him a pretty full account of the moral and religious condition of his native State. Mr. Lee immediately conceived a strong desire to visit that part of the country, and to preach to its people a free and impartial Gospel. He proposed the subject to Bishop Asbury; but the bishop thought the time had not yet come to attempt anything in that direction. Mr. Lee was forced to forego his purpose at the time, but did not abandon it. The idea of carrying Methodism into New-England possessed his imagination and his affections, as well as commanded his judgment; it haunted him wherever he went, and drew his heart away to the chivalrous enterprise. A spirit of youthful romance may have mingled with this feeling; but it is equally reasonable, and certainly not less Christian-like, to recognize in it the directing Spirit and providence of God.

The religious and ecclesiastical condition of New-England presented very little that was either inviting or full of promise. Unlike other parts of the country, it had always been supplied with abundance of religious teachers and ecclesiastical institutions. The State itself was as much ecclesiastical as political; and so far as outward things were concerned, the people were eminently religious. Every part of the land was pervaded by the ecclesiastical system; every hamlet and settlement was included in some parish. Great uniformity in doctrine and discipline prevailed among the churches, while schism and dissent were scarcely known. Congregationalism was established by law, and the churches were maintained by public provisions. Of the few dissenters found among them, the Baptists were the most numerous, and they differed from the "standing order" only as to baptism. Other sects were inconsiderable in numbers, and generally, in character such as would not have rendered them a blessing to society had they been more numerous and influential.

But the lapse of nearly two centuries had wrought great changes in the churches of New-England. The rigid spirituality of the Mathers, Mayhews, and Davenports, had given place to a less scrupulous piety, without relieving the gloomy character of their theology. High Calvinism had gone to seed among them, and was passing into the sere and yellow leaf of Antinomianism. The form of god-

liness was preserved among the people by a constrained attendance upon public worship, and by legally-enforced Sabbaths, kept with more than Pharisaic strictness,—and among the clergy, by prayers of almost interminable prolixity, and sermons surcharged with “the high mystery of predestination.” But the fires of vital religion burned very low upon their altars, and the pulpit had, to a great extent, lost its command of the consciences of the people, for the power that affects the heart was wanting.

Once had the Laodicean slumbers of the New-England churches been interrupted by a revival of spiritual religion. In 1732, the “great awakening” commenced, under the labours of the elder Edwards, and continued through several succeeding years, extending into many parts of these colonies. A brighter day seemed about to dawn upon the long-benighted land; but the hopes thus inspired were doomed to be suddenly extinguished. On account of the fanaticism of some of its friends, and through the natural ungodliness of the unrenewed heart, the cause of religious revival came to be evil spoken of, and at length was wholly suppressed. Associations of ministers, while ostensibly protesting against the errors and extravagances of the work of revival, condemned the work itself. The faculties of Harvard and Yale Colleges published “declarations” against Whitefield and his teachings; and at length Edwards himself was dismissed from his charge, because the people were tired of evangelical preaching. “In Boston itself, the number of parishes in 1785, five years before Lee’s arrival, was actually less than half a century before.” Personal piety had also sunk to a very low point. It was commonly taught that only an uncertain presumption could be attained as to one’s own relations to God, and his hopes of heaven, and only a very few pretended to “entertain a hope.” Many ministers were confessedly unconverted, and some learned and wise men defended the practice of inducting such persons into the sacred office.

Very little could be expected from the theology of the New-England churches towards remedying those evils;—it possessed no recuperative power. The dogma of Calvinian predestination acted as an opiate upon the public conscience, and paralyzed the energies of the Church. Election to life, that depended solely on an unconditional decree, needed not the care of its subject to make it more sure; and sin, which could neither endanger the salvation of the elect, nor render the perdition of the reprobates more certain, naturally appeared as a matter of no great consequence. In the same proportion as the “high mystery of predestination” was exalted, the necessity and value of the atonement were overlooked, till men began

to doubt; and presently to deny, the expiatory character of Christ's death; and this was soon followed by a denial of his proper divinity, and the plurality of persons in the Godhead. Thus was Unitarianism developed. Others liked only one side of the doctrine of decrees, and so sought to exclude the other,—the *decretum horribile*,—from the system. So the number of the elect was increased, till each individual was comprehended, and Calvinism was transformed into Universalism. Thus, instead of being able to give new life to the declining spirit of the churches, the orthodoxy of New-England was itself smitten with mortal disease, and was in perishing need of a simpler and more Scriptural faith.

But the prevailing theology, though very generally professed, was not in sympathy with the public sentiment. It was received with sullen submission, rather than embraced with cordial affection. Religion, as commonly exhibited, had a most uninviting aspect; and if received at all, it was as a hard alternative for eternal perdition. Such a system of doctrines could not be relied on to regenerate a fallen people. A foreign influence was needed, and Divine Providence was preparing it, in a way that the learned hierarchs of the land of the Pilgrims little anticipated. An unheralded stranger was approaching their borders, prepared to shake this death-spell from their slumbering churches, by proclaiming a free, a full, and an impartial salvation.

It does not come within our design to trace the progress of the itinerant, as he went out on his apparently forlorn and Quixotic mission, buoyant with hope, and strong in the confidence of faith. This the reader may find briefly done in the book before us, and more at large in the spirited sketches of the "Memorials of the Introduction of Methodism into the Eastern States."* On the 17th of June, we find him preaching in the street at Norwalk. Thence his course lay along the Sound to New-Haven. From that point he turned to the west, and passed across the country to Redding and Danbury. Then he bore away southward, by Ridgefield, Wilton, and Canaan, back again to Norwalk, having formed his two-weeks' circuit, and actually introduced Methodist itinerancy into the State, though there was not a Methodist besides himself in all the region embraced in his circuit. The enterprise was alike bold in its conception, and vigorous in its execution; and it succeeded. A more timid and cautious policy would probably have led to a failure.

It is difficult, in our changed circumstances, to form an adequate notion of the perplexing embarrassments to which the work thus taken in hand exposed the herald of a free Gospel. His ministerial cha-

* By Rev. A. Stevens: (New-York: Lane & Scott.)

racter, instead of serving him as a passport to general respect and confidence, was an occasion of suspicion, because he was not of the "standing order." The term Methodist was known only as the designation of a class of pestilent heretics, who had done much harm in other parts, but from whom the Lord had mercifully protected his chosen people in New-England. Mr. Lee's coming was commonly the signal of alarm; and for hospitality he was received with a cold and suspicious civility. At Norwalk he preached in the street, because he could obtain neither a public nor a private house for the purpose. At Fairfield he obtained the use of the Court-house, where, after ringing the bell himself, he seemed likely to have the house almost wholly to himself, till the schoolmaster and several of his scholars came to his relief. At New-Haven, too, he had the Court-house; and a portion of the faculty of Yale College, and several of the students, were among his rather scanty audience: but he was permitted to lodge at the tavern. At Greenfield he was civilly entertained by Dr. Dwight, who expressed doubts of the expediency of his mission, and of its final success; and at Redding, though he enjoyed the hospitality of the venerable minister, he was not allowed to preach in the church, because his doctrines were not approved, nor his opposition to dancing, of which his host was a great advocate.

But it was soon very evident that the Gospel had power in New-England, as well as elsewhere. His landlady at Fairfield was seriously awakened under his first sermon in that place. At Stratfield (near the present city of Bridgeport) he found a little self-constituted society of serious persons, who met once a week to sing and pray together. To these, on a subsequent visit, he preached, and afterwards spoke with each of them as to personal religion; and thus, unknown to them, he held his first class-meeting on his new circuit. Out of these, soon after, he formed his first society, which, at the beginning, consisted of only three women. At Redding, the word soon took effect; and at the end of the first half-year's labour he formed his second class, composed at first of two men in that place. Soon after this a third class was formed, of two men and two women, at a place called Limestone. The gathering of these "first-fruits" indicates much more than appears in the simple fact, that a few persons had become Methodists. A widespread impression had been made,—the public conscience had been awakened, and there was a stirring of the dry bones. Alarm, too, had seized the minds of those whose craft was thought to be in danger. On every hand the wailing was heard,—“The societies will be broken up!” and a stubborn opposition was excited against the presumptuous intruders.

Among the vexatious annoyances in this work, was the spirit of disputation that was everywhere encountered. If the new preacher avoided doubtful points, and taught only the great and common doctrines of faith and repentance, this course occasioned suspicion, and led to inquiry. He must declare his "principles;" which, when he did declare them, were everywhere assailed by furious advocates of the "decrees." The logic of Calvinism has always laboured under the disadvantage of being less obvious than that of the opposite system; and, therefore, it has not generally been the gainer in partial and superficial discussions of its subtle questions. And in this case it suffered a further inconvenience from the fact that the people had become familiar with the arguments used in its favour, while whatever was urged on the other side was new, and apparently incontrovertible. The old foundations became unsettled, and many rejoiced to be emancipated from a system that compelled them, in their opinion, to dishonour God in order to avoid perdition. Presently the pulpits opened their batteries upon the wandering itinerants and their doctrines. The public mind became excited in regard to the questions at issue between Calvinists and Arminians; and wherever the preacher came, he was driven into vexatious disputations. Thus commenced a controversy that, for nearly half a century, distinguished the pulpit exercises and the theological literature of New-England. The early Methodist preachers were thoroughly disciplined, and not inexpert controversialists against "the decrees." The spirit of controversy gave colouring to all their teachings. The peculiar forms of expression used by the "standing order" became objects of attack; and in opposing the errors of Calvinism, sufficient care was not always used to guard against opposite, and not less pernicious errors. Through all this protracted controversy, the ancient orthodoxy gradually yielded to the aggressions of a better faith. It soon became manifest, that the doctrines of the Cambridge and Saybrook Platforms could not be maintained in their original forms. At first, there were only some modifications in the manner of stating them, and a hiding of the more offensive features. But this concession to outraged public sentiment came too late to effect its purpose. Then a reorganization was attempted, and the metaphysics of Hopkinsian New Divinity were substituted for the straight-forward statements of the older formularies. The system was made the worse for mending, and the public mind was not satisfied. Revolutions seldom go backward, especially those which tend to the emancipation of mind; and of this truth the history of New-England theology affords a striking example. A change, but little anticipated by their fathers, has come upon the men of this generation, of which an efficient

cause is to be found in the labours of the early Methodist preachers.

Mr. Lee continued in his new field of labour till the next session of the New-York Conference, in October, 1790. In this time he had explored the most populous portions of New-England; had preached in all the principal places from Norwalk to Newburyport, including Boston, where he opened his message under a spreading elm on the Common; had laid out three large circuits; and, strangest of all, had gathered no less than one hundred and eighty members into his infant societies. He now hastened to greet his fellow-labourers at Conference.

There are sometimes periods in the lives of men of lofty purpose, and of strenuous heroism, when they receive at least a partial recompense for long-suffered toils and privations in the admiring approbation of those whose favour they especially value. Such was now the case with Mr. Lee. But his rejoicing was not a vain self-complacency, nor a proud exultation, as if he had achieved his conquests by his own prowess. It was an humble gratitude, that gladly ascribed all the glory to the sole efficiency of divine grace. Yet he greatly rejoiced, not only that the work had been effected, but also that he had been made the instrument by which the grace of God had been so singularly displayed. He now asked no other honour than the privilege of resuming his labours in the field of his past triumphs,—a request that was readily granted, and a strong reinforcement added. But we can follow him no further. For eight successive years his undivided energies were devoted to the cause of Methodism in New-England. He frequently traversed the whole land, from Long Island Sound to Penobscot Bay, himself heading every new incursion, and cheering on the fainting spirits of his companions in toil. During this time, Methodism became firmly rooted in that portion of the country;—the little one became thousands, and the feeble exotic was naturalized and flourished in that apparently uncongenial climate, where it still prospers in the smiles of Him who first gave it life. Long will the Methodists of New-England remember and venerate the name of Jesse Lee.

We must now contemplate Mr. Lee in other and different relations and occupations. While he was labouring in New-England he regularly attended the sessions of his annual Conference, and the quadrennial sessions of the General Conference. He felt a lively interest in all the affairs of the Church, and participated in all the discussions relative to its polity and administration. Though he approved of its original organization, he, in common with all concerned, felt that, as a system, the constitution of the Church was far

from perfect. This conviction led, at an early period, to efforts to supply its obvious defects. One of these was that the bishops, as executive officers, were compelled to use a very large discretion, in which they were neither limited by law, nor assisted by constitutional advisers. An evil of such magnitude required immediate and efficient remedies.

The first expedient resorted to, was the measure known in Methodist history as the *Council*. In 1789, the bishops brought forward a plan to constitute the presiding elders, with themselves, a legislative and executive council, with all necessary powers for the government of the Church, and the conservation of its doctrines and discipline. The plan met with some opposition, but was at length carried in the annual Conference. But in organizing this irresponsible oligarchy, and probably with an honest desire to guard against the abuses to which it was liable, absolute unanimity was made necessary to all enactments, and then its decrees were not to be binding in any district till approved by the annual Conference. This was enough to render the Council a mere child's play. It had the form of an irresponsible despotism, without any of its efficiency. The Council met only twice, accomplished nothing, and then vanished into thin air,—unwept and unhonoured. From first to last, Mr. Lee was its steady and uncompromising opponent; and when he saw it laid in inglorious repose, he rejoiced as over a prostrate enemy.

The manifest failure of the "Council" led to the assembling of a General Conference in November, 1792. A thorough revisal of the Discipline was then gone into,—not to change its fundamental laws, but to perfect its details, and give harmonious efficiency to its action. At this Conference the famous O'Kelly difficulties occurred. The design of the measure proposed by Mr. O'Kelly was to give to the annual Conferences a veto power over the bishop's appointments of the preachers to their respective fields of labour. This bold stroke at the episcopal authority was not distasteful to the majority of the preachers, who seem not to have detected its revolutionary character. Others saw in it not only a shortening of the bishop's power, but the subversion of the itinerancy. By skilful management, not less than by forcible arguments, the measure was defeated, and the Church saved. Mr. Lee had agreed with O'Kelly and his friends in the measures of reform that had already passed the Conference, and was fully recognized as friendly to a constitutional limitation of episcopal powers; but in this measure they went too far for him, and he afterwards saw cause to rejoice in his early separation from them. When they left the Conference he predicted

further troubles, and mourned the unhappy issue of that unfortunate question.

As this was the first considerable schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and almost identical in character with most that have since occurred, it may not be amiss to pause for a moment to observe its causes and designs. The Methodist itinerancy requires very considerable sacrifices of all who submit themselves to its operations; but such has been the confidence of the Church in its simple efficiency, that there has been a very general willingness to make the necessary sacrifices for its maintenance. But as no one is compelled to come under its power, nor to continue there,—and as its subjects have the power, in their aggregate capacity, to modify it at pleasure,—it is plain that the itinerancy can be maintained only so long as it enjoys the love and confidence of those who bear its burdens. It is cause of gratulation, that hitherto such confidence has always been commanded by the ecclesiastical executive. In the delicate business of fixing the appointments, unity is essential to efficiency, and efficiency to even moderate success. But O'Kelly's plan would have been fatal to that unity, and, therefore, directly destructive to the itinerancy.

But we are not prepared to go as far as our author has gone in condemning the early part of Mr. O'Kelly's course. He doubtless erred in judgment; but nothing worse than that can be justly laid to his charge in the matter of seeking this change in the Methodist economy. His subsequent course, however, was unwise and indefensible. His design was to guard against the abuses to which the appointing power seemed to be liable; and when defeated in his purpose, he precipitated the worst effects of the apprehended abuses, and sought to destroy the Church lest it should be oppressed. It is but too evident, that much of personal feeling was mingled with this dread of arbitrary power. Had Mr. O'Kelly and his friends submitted to the action of the Conference, as expediency as well as duty required them to do, they would have still been in a condition to labour for necessary reforms, while they could have continued to prosecute their calling as ministers of the grace of God. But by their defection, they at once weakened and disgraced their cause in the Church. The oft-repeated charges against Mr. O'Kelly's orthodoxy rest on rather insufficient grounds, and the best living evidence is against their correctness. A preacher, whose name is not given, and who may have been a very incompetent judge in such matters, first mentioned the subject after he had left the Conference; and from such a beginning the rumour has been perpetuated, and in the pages of this biography is assumed and treated as

unquestionable. That he used modes of expression somewhat different from those commonly employed, is granted by all,—a course that always tends towards dangerous ground, as it not unfrequently arises from a partial departure from the simple truth. If, however, Mr. O'Kelly was upright and honest when he left the Conference, his subsequent career too plainly proves, that though an honest man may give himself to a faction, yet, in it he will not long remain honest.

The sequel of this unhappy affair is full of instruction. The complaint of the dissentients was at least plausible,—much more so than those of any who have followed them first into secession, and thence into oblivion. The powers of the bishops were at that time vastly greater than at present, and a large majority of the preachers were favourably inclined to some salutary limitations. And as these confessedly proper limitations were not made, the complaint appeared to be not altogether groundless. Nor had experience then, as now, demonstrated the equitable operation of the present plan of making the appointments. The liability to abuse has been proved to be much more apparent than real, and so the causes of complaint have passed away. But with all its greater advantages, O'Kelly's plan of effecting a revolution in the Church proved a total failure. The humble and devoted servants of Christ, who alone can give stability and success to the Church, avoid the tumults of distracting changes; while the ungovernable and self-sufficient rally to the standard of rebellion, and curse by their favour the cause they espouse. This was most sadly experienced by O'Kelly. Discord soon prevailed in the councils of the "Republican Methodists," and the high promise of the beginning soon vanished. But immense harm was done to the souls of many simple ones who were stumbled and turned out of the way by these unholy strifes. It would be well for all, who may at any time meditate making a schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church, carefully to study the history of this affair before proceeding in the matter. Men are not generally inclined to be alarmed at the shadows of dangers. They will plant their vines upon the declivities of the volcano, and gather fruits by the side of the upas-tree, and bless the soil that feeds them, though surcharged with the elements of death.

Intimately related to the foregoing subject, was one that afterwards agitated the councils of the Church for many years, and in which Mr. Lee became a principal actor;—the Presiding Elder Question. This was, indeed, a kindred question with that raised by O'Kelly, but not, as our author has it, *identical in principle* with it. Had this measure been proposed instead of the defeated

one, in 1792, there is little doubt that it would have prevailed. But when a factious and revolutionary minority had placed the Church on the defensive, the subject of reforms was permitted to slumber for several years. Nor did the feeble and ill-concerted movement of 1800 help the cause further than to show that it was yet alive. In 1808, the question came up on its merits, in the shape of a proposition to make the office of Presiding Elder elective; but the Church was not yet prepared for the change. The struggle was renewed at the General Conference in 1812, and though the battle was long and stubbornly fought, and the reformers seem to have had the advantage in the war of words, they were still slightly in the minority. In 1816 they were still the lesser number; but in 1820, the measure, a little modified by way of compromise, was adopted by a very large majority. It was, however, subsequently suspended, and finally given up. In the debate on this subject, at the General Conference of 1812, Mr. Lee is said to have displayed his highest and most commanding forensic abilities; and doubtless he there made impressions, that still survive in their influences, in favour of the rights of the travelling ministry.

In the quiet afforded by distance of time and change of circumstances, we may profitably review this controversy, and derive instruction from the contemplation. Methodism has always been a child of Providence; and while we may differ with our author as to which was the "right" side of this question, we doubt not that a good Providence directed the issue. A seeming defeat is sometimes the most complete triumph; and in this case the indirect influences of the expressions then made, have more than compensated for the want of direct and positive success. The contest will not probably be renewed, for the question has not sufficient interest about it to give it vitality; or if the change should be again demanded, it would not be again defeated by the same kind of influences. That the mode of appointing Presiding Elders may be changed, or that the office itself may be modified, or abrogated, is not impossible. But however that may be, the quiet of the Church will not be interrupted by the question. Things have greatly changed since that question first excited the attention of the Methodist ministry. A race of preachers has arisen, whose positions and characters are sufficient safeguards against executive oppression, were there (as we are happy to believe there is not) any inclination to such an abuse of power. An influence also is beginning to be felt from another source,—the voice of the laity can neither be stifled nor disregarded. At the same time, the office of Presiding Elder is constantly declining in relative importance in all the older portions of the country; and the

time may come, when the Episcopacy will wish to strengthen itself by a council directly representing the members of the Annual Conferences.

Mr. Lee's notions of Church government are pretty fully exhibited in the cases above noticed. A fuller illustration of the same subject is given in the history of his actions in regard to the episcopacy. At first our episcopacy was rather British than American. It originated in England, and with a venerable man whose political principles were not in unison with those of the American people. The first bishop was selected by Mr. Wesley's individual act, without the previous concurrence of those over whom he was appointed; and though that appointment was utterly void till sanctioned by the American Conference, yet the authority of the person so appointed seemed to be derived from his first designation, rather than his subsequent election. Dr. Coke was, by association and in feeling, an Englishman, and seems to have been incapable of learning the American character. Mr. Asbury, too, though much better acquainted with human character, and more assimilated to the sentiments of those who were about him, nevertheless carried some of his foreign notions with him to the end. The course pursued by Dr. Coke, as soon as he entered upon his superintendency, gave earnest of the character of his future administration. Soon after the close of the Christmas Conference, the two bishops proceeded together to the Virginia Conference. The doctor was full of zeal, and also full of his new office. He abominated slavery as became him, and pressed the new rule of Discipline relative to that subject with more ardour than discretion. Mr. Lee, knowing the peculiar perplexities in which the subject was involved, presumed, though a young man, modestly, but firmly, to oppose the furious zeal of the Bishop. For this act of temerity he was not permitted to pass without rebuke; when his name was called on the passage of his character, Dr. Coke opposed it, but afterwards prudently withdrew his opposition. There are grounds for the presumption, that this untoward beginning of their acquaintance made impressions upon both these faithful men that were not speedily effaced.

Two years later, at the Baltimore Conference, the bishop was put upon the defensive. He had been absent from the country most of the time since the organization of the Church. During his absence he continued to exercise his episcopal authority by writing letters giving directions relative to the affairs of the Church; and when he returned, he changed the places of meeting of several annual conferences, that had been fixed by those bodies at their former sessions. This was deemed a palpable violation of the rights of the

conferences, and received a most decided condemnation. Dr. Coke, though sufficiently magisterial when allowed to be so, could also adapt himself to external circumstances, and bend to the passing storm. The men with whom he had to do were made of stern stuff, though they carried warm and honest hearts in their bosoms. Satisfactory assurances were demanded, *that the offence would not be repeated*; and, lest the past should ever be used as a precedent, the bishop was required to give a pledge in writing that the same thing should never occur again. All these demands were granted, and thus a rule established, forever limiting episcopal authority in that matter. In this business, Mr. Lee, on account of his youth, took no prominent part, though he cordially co-operated with the majority of the Conference.

At the General Conference of 1796, arose a very grave and what proved a very exciting question concerning the episcopacy. Until that time, nearly all the labours of the general superintendency had fallen upon Mr. Asbury, as Dr. Coke had passed most of his time in Europe, or in crossing the Atlantic. Mr. Asbury was very desirous of some more permanent assistance, which desire he intimated to the Conference. A resolution to strengthen the episcopacy, by the election of an additional bishop, was accordingly introduced; but while it was under discussion, Mr. Asbury rose, and expressed great fears lest an improper selection should be made. The resolution was then modified, so as to make the proposed election agreeable to his wishes and feelings; and in that form was passed almost unanimously. Soon after this, Dr. Coke came forward, and "offered himself wholly to the Conference, promising to serve them in the best manner he could, and to be entirely at the disposal of his American brethren, to live and die among them." Of these important proceedings Mr. Lee was not only a deeply interested observer, but an active participant. He was of the small minority that opposed the modification of the resolution to strengthen the episcopacy, so as to submit the whole matter to Mr. Asbury. He considered the election of a superintendent one of the highest and most sacred duties of the General Conference, and such as they might not devolve upon any other body or individual. However much he loved his devoted father in the Gospel, he loved the Church, its constitution, and discipline, still more, and therefore could not be induced to sacrifice his principles to gratify his social affections.

But Dr. Coke's proposal was still more unacceptable to him. He evidently disliked the doctor's manner as a bishop, and, without questioning the sincerity of his purpose, he felt no confidence in his

pledge to abide in America, and devote all his energies to the interests of American Methodism. His sympathies and his interests, Mr. Lee believed, were all in another country. The deep-seated prejudice of the American people against the British nation, was also urged as a reason against having a subject of that kingdom for the first officer of an American Church. On this ground Mr. Asbury had often been objected to, though much more Americanized, both in manners and feelings, than Dr. Coke; and, therefore, it was thought highly inexpedient that the Church should now look only to foreigners for her superintendents. Writing to one of his colleagues, soon after this transaction, Mr. Lee remarked, "I still say, *no more English bishops* I wish for an American superintendent, equal in power with brother Asbury." In that brief sentence he expressed his whole heart in the matter. Upon that position he had placed himself; and to fix that as the policy of the Church was his most strenuous purpose. There was, probably, something intended by the collocation of his terms,—*ENGLISH BISHOPS,—American superintendents.*

Powerful and well-directed as was Mr. Lee's opposition, the influence of the bishops was still too great for him. The Conference finally accepted Dr. Coke's proposal, and no new bishop was chosen. But this defeat had much of the character of a victory; for though Dr. Coke was reaccepted by the Conference, yet he came back shorn of his power, and degraded to the condition of a mere assistant bishop. The spirit of the debates had affected the minds of the Conference; and though their reverence for the venerable men with whom they were dealing induced them to retain the incumbent of the episcopal office, their jealousy of encroachments upon their rights led them to bind him, hand and foot, before he was received again among them. Some years later, the last vestige of power was taken from him, though his name was retained among those of the bishops, with a note appended, declaring him virtually deposed.

The action of the General Conference in the case of Dr. Coke is especially worthy of attention, as serving to illustrate the mutual relations of the episcopacy and the assembled representatives of the ministry of the Church. Dr. Coke was never accused of any crime, nor yet put upon his defence, judicially, for any mal-administration. The Conference treated him as a tenant-at-will in the episcopal office, and judged of his continuance in it as of a question of mere expediency. "*It was thought best,*" is the cool language of Mr. Lee, in his History of the Methodists, "for Dr. Coke to be no longer considered a superintendent of the Methodists in the United States."

And yet no complaint was made by Dr. Coke or his friends that he was wronged, or the fundamental law of the Discipline violated. These precedents completely cover the action of a recent General Conference in a similar exercise of its high authority; and perhaps no man contributed more largely to the influences that governed and saved the Church in 1844, than he who long before had laboured to diffuse the spirit of true liberty in the Church, and to maintain the authority of the presbytery over the episcopacy. The friends of real Christian liberty, as it is set forth and defended in the Methodist Discipline, owe a lasting debt of gratitude to the memory of Jesse Lee.

It is also gratifying to perceive, that the doctrines he taught and impressed on the minds of his cotemporaries are still cherished among his successors; and that the kinsman who has now the honour to be his biographer, is also the exponent and advocate of his enlightened and liberal views. We are decidedly pleased with Dr. Lee's statement, as qualified by himself, of the ecclesiastical constitution of Methodism:—

"The General Conference, as the source of law and authority in the Church, is represented so entirely in every department of the ecclesiastical government, that it may be almost said to be *everywhere*. In the person and power of its representatives, the authority of the General Conference is felt in every ramification of official influence. The bishop is the first and highest executive officer of the Church. In the absence of the bishop, the presiding elder stands forth as his accredited representative; and he, in turn, is represented by the preacher in charge, who transmits to the class-leaders the authority to supply his place in carrying out the designs of the organization in spreading Scriptural holiness in the earth. Thus from the fountain of power [Croton?] there is a regular transmission of official authority to the very extremities of the system."—P. 138.

This statement, though just, admits of an interpretation that would seem to imply an almost absolute executive power in the episcopacy; but such an interpretation is guarded against by our author. In a note at the bottom of the page, he inserts, with approbation, the following remark from the Life of Rev. W. Watters: "But while he [the bishop] superintends the whole work, he cannot interfere with the particular charge of any of the preachers in their stations. To see that the preachers fill their places with propriety, and to understand the state of every station or circuit, that he may the better make the appointments of the preachers, is, no doubt, no small part of his duty; but he has nothing to do with receiving, censuring, or excluding members; this belongs wholly to the stationed preacher and members." The authority of the General Conference is communicated to the presiding elders, or stationed preachers, through the bishops, only so far as their particular fields

of labour are concerned. The authority of all ministerial officers of the Church is derived directly from the General Conference, agreeable to the fundamental laws of the Church. An incumbent may be displaced or superseded, but the superior minister has no right to seize and appropriate to himself the functions of the office thus vacated.

We must pass over briefly, or wholly omit, several important passages in the history of Mr. Lee. His connexion with the episcopacy forms an interesting and rather curious chapter in our early history. It is a maxim among politicians, that a first-class civilian, who has been long and intimately connected with the issues of the times, does not make the most available candidate for the high places in the gift of the people. The very actions that render such a one illustrious, incur the displeasure of those who differ with him in opinion; whereas, were he less conspicuous, he would escape that odium. Such was Mr. Lee's case relative to the episcopacy. He had been a prominent actor in all the great questions that had risen in the Church since its organization; and in advocating his own opinions he had opposed many, who, on that account, would be less inclined to elevate him to the highest place in the Church. Still he had the fullest evidence possible, next to an election, that he shared, in an eminent degree, the confidence of his brethren.

Mr. Lee's relations to slavery possess a high degree of interest, which is rather increased than diminished by the lapse of time. Dr. Lee moves rather awkwardly about this subject, and his remarks and disquisitions are curious and amusing. He is evidently an admirer of the subject of his narrative, and his better judgment, as to the "delicate question" of slavery, seems to be on the side espoused and advocated by his illustrious kinsman. But he is a Virginian, and has the misfortune to live among circumstances that render it a crime to speak against the "peculiar institution of the South." To commend the course of Jesse Lee relative to slavery, and not condemn slavery, would require more skill in hair-splitting than falls to the lots of most mere mortals. The book is a real mosaic,—now all southern, and now as wholly northern: now Virginian of 1780, and now Virginian of 1848. In South Carolina it would be an incendiary publication, suitable to be placed with the Methodist Discipline in the *Index Expurgatorius*; and at Baltimore it must appear as a very poor attempt to whitewash a rotten system. Still, it may be adapted to the transcendental geniuses of the Old Dominion.

From the beginning, Methodism has been hostile to slavery; and nowhere else has that feeling been more clearly manifest than in

Virginia. In 1780, the Virginia Conference acknowledged slavery to be "contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society,—contrary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion;" and they recommended to all their friends to emancipate their slaves. The prevailing sentiment of the Church at that period was openly and most decidedly averse to "African slavery." This was but the legitimate fruit of the character and action of the Church. Opposition to slavery was an original element of Methodism, and "the extirpation of the great evil" was among its primary designs. But while there was entire unanimity thus far, there was always much difference of opinion among good antislavery men, as to the best method of accomplishing a purpose at once so necessary and so difficult; and, therefore, it is not wonderful that Mr. Lee differed with some of his brethren on this subject: nor does such a disagreement cast a shadow upon the good name of either party. But we esteem it alike unjust and cruel, to attempt to make Jesse Lee the prototype of modern pro-slavery Methodists. At such an imputation the spirit of the good man, it may be fancied, would be disturbed in the repose of Paradise; and his sons in the gospel, the Methodists of New-England, would be aroused to vindicate his fair reputation. It is now declared, on the fullest evidence, that he was both a non-slaveholder from principle, and an advocate of emancipation. In 1798, while travelling with Bishop Asbury through Virginia, he paid a visit of several days to the residence of his father. The object of this visit, says his biographer, "was to importune his now aged father to provide for the emancipation of his slaves." Mr. Lee himself, in the account given of this visit in his journal, remarked, "I wished him to make his will, for the peace of them that might live after him, and for the sake of his negroes, who are yet in slavery; but he was not determined about it." The pious and humane purpose of the son was not effected,—the old man died, as he had lived, a slaveholder. "He left a will, and distributed his servants among his descendants." But the pious son was saved from the double sorrow that would have fallen upon him, had he survived his father. In that case, he would, perhaps, have become legally possessed of one or more slaves; but all the laws of the Commonwealth could not have made him a slaveholder in fact. His conscience, enlightened by the word of God, and quickened by the Holy Ghost, was his only law; and no civil institution could compel him to sin against his own soul. Had all his successors in the ministry been equally true to God and Methodism, a very different state of things, in relation to slavery, would have been effected.

There are several other particulars in the history of our illustrious subject that we have marked for comment; but we must pass them by, and hasten to conclude our remarks. Mr. Lee left his favourite field in New-England in 1797, to accompany Bishop Asbury on his tours of episcopal visitation; and for three successive years he traversed the whole extent of the country from Georgia to Maine, assisting the bishop in all his duties, so far as compatible with his non-episcopal character. This was evidently designed by Bishop Asbury as an apprenticeship for the episcopacy, and doubtless Mr. Lee also so understood it; but the General Conference of 1800 thought differently, for, on the third balloting,—the second having resulted in a tie between Mr. Lee and Mr. Whatcoat,—the latter was declared duly elected. Suspicions of something unfair in the canvass were expressed at the time, and have never been entirely dissipated; but we will not stir the ashes that bury this unpleasant affair. All the parties to those transactions now sleep together in the grave, and we trust their spirits rest together in Paradise.

At the close of the General Conference Mr. Lee returned once more to the Virginia Conference, where, for sixteen successive years, he performed the duties of a travelling preacher with characteristic zeal and fidelity. During this period he was four times chosen chaplain to Congress, the duties of which office he performed faithfully and acceptably. In 1815 he was appointed to Fredericksburg, which was included in the Baltimore Conference, and the next year to Annapolis, in Maryland. While there engaged in his official duties, near the last of August, he passed over to the Eastern Shore, to attend a camp-meeting near Hillsborough. Here he preached his last sermon. Soon after preaching he was attacked by a violent fever, which terminated his active and useful life on the twelfth of September, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his public ministry. As his life had been one of sacrifice and devotion to the cause of his divine Master, so his death was full of assurance and radiant with hopes of immortality.

As a Christian, Mr. Lee was distinguished for the soundness of his conversion, the steadiness and strength of his faith, the cheerfulness of his piety, and his rigid conscientiousness. As a minister of the Gospel, he professed to hold his commission directly from the Head of the Church, and his labours are the best evidence of his calling. He was a man of superior natural abilities, which were strengthened and improved by cultivation,—a good speaker, and an indefatigable labourer. In his intercourse with his brethren he was frank and familiar, though, by the silent power of his presence, he exercised a commanding influence among them. Few men

have done so much to give shape and character to Methodist polity; for though often defeated in the specific measures he advocated, the spirit of his policy nearly always prevailed. He lived in the heroic age of Methodism, and was himself a chief among the great men of his times. He was, emphatically, a man for his own times; and having faithfully and successfully served his generation, he rested from his labours, and his works follow him. His memory and his example remain, and will long be cherished by those who come after him.

ART. IV.—ON THE INTERPRETATION OF MARK ix, 49, 50.

[Modified from the German of Bähr, in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for July, 1849.]

THIS passage is acknowledged by all commentators to be dark and difficult. Any new light that may be thrown upon it cannot fail to be acceptable; and we hazard the following views as a contribution to its interpretation. To us, at least, they are more satisfactory than any exposition of the passage we have met with.

The passage reads:—"Πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἀλισθήσεται, καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἀλλὶ ἀλισθήσεται.

"Καλὸν τὸ ἅλας· ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἅλας ἀναλον γένηται, ἐν τίνι αὐτὸ ἀρτύσετε; ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἅλας, καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις."

"For every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt.

"Salt is good: but if the salt have lost his saltness, wherewith will ye season it? Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another."

Nearly all interpreters refer the words, "salted with fire," to the punishment of the wicked in hell; and their main difficulty consists in connecting this predicate with the subject "every one,"—and also in making a clear sense for verse 50 in connexion with verse 49 thus understood. We hope to avoid the whole difficulty, and to show a clear and beautiful connexion in the whole passage, by explaining the *salt of the sacrifice*, and its spiritual import—a point which has not heretofore been adequately cleared up.

Before entering directly upon our exposition, we must call attention to the fact, that the passage before us is not an isolated one, but

forms part of a connected discourse of Christ to his disciples, commencing with verse 33, and ending with verse 50. In verses 33, 34, we are told that the disciples *disputed* for supremacy;—this gives occasion to the whole discourse, in which Christ inculcates upon the disciples humility and self-abasement, (35–37,) and, further, forbids them to offend any of His *little* ones. And in addition to self-abasement, he enjoins, as inseparable from it, self-denial and self-sacrifice, (42, 43,) to avoid the most fearful risks, (44–48.) Then immediately, connected by γάρ, comes the passage before us, which *ends*—by pointing to the spirit of dispute that gave occasion to Christ's injunctions—in the final exhortation, εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις, *have peace one with another*.

Having thus shown the connexion of the passage, we proceed with its exegesis. It appears to be clear that the leading thought of verse 49 is to be found in the *salt of the sacrifice*, which is presupposed as a significant act. We inquire now into the meaning of that rite, as here alluded to in its significant sense. The clause καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἀλλὶ ἀλισθήσεται, *and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt*, is taken from, or, at least, clearly refers to, Levit. ii, 13—καὶ πᾶν δῶρον θυσίας ὑμῶν ἀλλὶ ἀλισθήσεται, *and every offering of your sacrifice shall be salted with salt*. But the salt used in that sacrifice denoted *the covenant of Jehovah with Israel*;—as is sufficiently clear from the remainder of the verse,—οὐ διαπαύσατε ἅλας διαθήκης κυρίου (לֹא תִפְּסוּן מֶלַח בְּרִית יְהוָה) ἀπὸ θυμῶν ὑμῶν, *ye shall not suffer the salt of Jehovah's covenant to cease from your offerings of sacrifice*. Now that this very meaning, and no other, is implied in the passage of Mark before us, lies in the very nature of the case. Christ, who quoted the words of the law, knew well their full import in their connexion with the passage which he cited; and the disciples to whom he spoke, holding the law to be of divine origin, could have ascribed to the rite of salt, thus alluded to, no other sense. According to this view, no credit whatever is to be given to that interpretation of the passage* which attributes to the *salt of sacrifice* the import of *seasoning*, and seeks the origin of the rite in the gross anthropomorphic notion that salt is as much a requisite to God's enjoyment of the food offered to him as to man's. Even if (which we do not grant) such ideas prevailed among the heathen, nothing is more certain than that the Mosaic Law knew nothing of them. The distinct expression, *salt of the covenant of Jehovah*, at once and utterly excludes all such conceptions; but, in addition to this, in Levit. ii, 11 (just before our cited passage) all *leaven* in the meat-offerings is prohibited, although it

is precisely leaven that makes bread agreeable to the taste. The prohibition of the *leaven* has just as much reference to seasoning as the command of the *salt*,—that is, none at all. According to the law itself, then, the salt of sacrifice is the *salt of the covenant of God*. But we can obtain a more definite idea of its application in the passage before us, by ascertaining *why*, and *how*, it has this import. For this purpose, let us turn to Numbers xviii, 19, and 2 Chron. xiii, 5: in both these passages the phrase בְּרִית מֶלַח, *covenant of salt*, obviously means, from the connexion, a covenant *indissoluble, irrevocable, unceasing, and everlasting*. And, as salt is a specific preservative against corruption, decay, and dissolution, its use to symbolize a covenant incorruptible, undecaying, and indissoluble, was altogether natural. To this day, in the East, salt is the symbol of friendship, of harmony, and of covenant agreement. But there is another point, perhaps still more striking. In the sacrifice, the salt was expressly declared to denote the *covenant of God with Israel*: and this covenant, in its very nature and object, was a covenant of *holiness*. For it was to make them "*holy*" that God chose Israel from among all nations; to this people He was the "*Holy One*;" and, in regard to other nations, they were the "*holy people*." The very substance and basis of the covenant was,—"*Be ye holy, for I am holy*." Now the peculiar appropriateness of "*salt*" to symbolize the "*holy*" character of the covenant lies in this, that its power to preserve from decay and dissolution consists in the fact that it removes, or eats away, what is *unclean and corrupting*; it keeps together whatever it preserves, by taking away the material and germ of contamination. In a word, it preserves, because it purifies. Now purity, among the Hebrews, was considered partly as a condition of holiness, and partly identical with holiness. The salt, therefore, in the sacrifice, was the natural symbol of the "*covenant of holiness*." The very object of the sacrifice was to renew the sundered relations of the people to Jehovah, the "*Holy One*:" and the salt was the special seal of the holy and sanctifying union with Jehovah negotiated in the sacrifice. The sacrifice, of itself, denoted a complete *surrender* to Jehovah; but the addition of the salt imparted to it the character of holiness, and, therefore, the proper and appropriate consecration.

Keeping this view of the salt of the sacrifice in mind, let us now resume the examination of verse 49, in the passage before us. It has two clauses,—"*for every one shall be salted with fire—and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt*." The first question to be settled is, In what relation do the two clauses stand to each other? Obviously, ἀλισθήσεται, (*shall be salted*,) in the first clause, corre-

sponds to ἀλισθήσεται in the second. But the word clearly derives its use in the first clause from the second: for the latter is quoted from the *law*, where it has a definite and ascertained meaning. We infer, therefore, that the first clause is to be interpreted by the aid of the second; and, in fact, that the two clauses are not co-ordinate, but that the first is *dependent* on the second. Some (Lightfoot, for example) render the connecting καὶ by *but*; which is clearly inadmissible. Olshausen inserts διὰ τοῦτο after καὶ, making the second clause to be—"and *for this reason* must every sacrifice be salted with salt;" and he supposes that the first clause gives an authoritative explanation of the "salt of sacrifice." In our view the dependence of the two clauses is just the opposite of this. The only true view of the use of the καὶ is that advanced by Fritsche and De Wette, namely, that it is equivalent to the Hebrew *ṭ exæquationis*, and may be rendered "*just as*," (Cf. Job v, 7;)—a sense lying, not in the particle itself, but in the *parallelismus membrorum*, (parallelism of clauses.)

Under this relation of the two clauses, the meaning of the verse is, "*as, according to the law, every sacrifice must be salted with salt, so should also every one of you be salted with fire.*" Further, πᾶς (*every one*) is parallel with πᾶσα θυσία, (*every sacrifice*), and πυρί (*with fire*) is parallel to ἀλί, (*with salt*.) As, in the preceding verses, Christ had enjoined the sacrifice even of the dearest objects, (*a right hand, a right eye*),—that is, an unconditional and unlimited self-denial, which is the very *essence* of sacrifice,—so here, quite naturally, he compares "*every one*" of the disciples to a sacrifice. In making the *fire* parallel to the *salt*, he pre-supposes an affinity between them; an affinity which must lie in the power of purification. We have already seen that this power is attributed to "salt;" it is also attributed to "fire," (Zach. xiii, 9; 1 Pet. i, 7; 1 Cor. iii, 15; Rev. iii, 18.) Especially worthy of remark is Matt. iii, 11,—"*He shall baptize you . . . with fire.*" Baptizing is done with water, but its object is purification: (Eph. v, 26; 1 Pet. iii, 21:) so the fitness of the expression, "to baptize with fire," may be inferred from the fact that fire also has purifying power. Altogether analogous to this is the phrase, "to salt with fire." Salting is done with salt; but as fire has a purifying, nay, even a *preserving* power, (1 Cor. iii, 13, 15,) the expression may be used, "to salt with fire."*

If our view be correct, the sense so generally given to this passage by the commentators,—that πῦρ here refers to hell-fire, and "the being 'salted with fire,' imports that, as to their beings,

* Plin., Nat. Hist., xxxi, *Salis natura est per se ignea*. Olshausen, i, 556, "salt may be called a bound-up fire."

they shall be preserved, even as salt preserves things from corruption, that they may be the objects of the eternal wrath of God"—is utterly untenable. Apart from all other objections, according to this view, the salt preserves the *corruption* of the damned; while, on the contrary, its preserving power lies in the very fact that it *destroys* corruption. Moreover, as has been said, the word *ἀλισθήσεται* must have the same sense in both clauses; if taken, as it must be, in *bonam partem* in the second, it must be also in the first. True, the repeated mention of *πῦρ ἄσβεστον*, *unquenchable fire*, may have suggested the phrase, "salted (*πῦρι*) with fire," instead of "salted (*ἀλί*) with salt;" but it by no means follows that the word, in this new connexion, has the same force as in the foregoing, especially as no attributive like *ἄσβεστος*, or *γέεννα*, is employed. On the contrary, the very mention, by Christ, of the destroying fire may have given him occasion to pass to its opposite, the purifying and preserving fire. The passage, therefore, does not, as the Romanists suppose, give any countenance whatever to the doctrine of purgatory.

Our view, then, of the sense of the 49th verse, may be thus expressed: "Every one (of you) must become a personal sacrifice; but as, under the law, every sacrifice required the consecrating salt, the symbol of the holy covenant, so also must every one (of you) be purified by self-sacrifice. The discipleship of the Lord consists in continual self-denial and sacrifice, which is inseparable from continual purification. And this process of purification, so far from being destructive, is precisely the process that conserves unto true, everlasting life." Thus understood, the passage is a brief and pregnant summary of all that Christ had said, (verses 33-48;) and, in common with all pregnant passages, it is for that very reason obscure, especially when torn from its connexion. The want of self-denial and humility, he had said, leads to everlasting corruption, where "their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched;" but continual self-denial, on the other hand, leads, by means of the purification that is inseparable from it, to everlasting life. That is, in the condensed, symbolical language of the text, *πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἀλισθήσεται*, "*for every one shall be salted with fire.*"

The 50th verse falls in naturally with our interpretation of the 49th, as addressed to the disciples: "*Salt is good: but if the salt have lost its saltness, (that is, its peculiar properties,) wherewith will ye season (ἀρτύσετε) it? (that is, restore its virtue.) Have (ἔχετε) salt in yourselves, and have peace (εἰρηνεύετε) one with another.*" No one will deny that *ἔχετε* and *εἰρηνεύετε* are addressed to the disciples; and if so, so must *ἀρτύσετε* be, and, with it, the whole passage. The same expression is used, though in a different con-

nexion, in Matt. v, 13: "*Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?*" And here the very object of discipleship—to be the "salt of the earth"—is connected with humiliation, self-denial, and a peaceable spirit. In Luke xiv, 33, 34, the connexion is still closer: "*Whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple. Salt is good, but if,*" &c. So, also, in the passage before us, whoever is "salted with fire," thereby becomes himself a "salt" to the earth; but if he lose this salt—by losing the spirit of humble self-sacrifice—nothing else can replace it; his discipleship is lost, and himself with it.

How naturally, then, comes on the concluding injunction, "*Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another.*" "Keep the spirit of self-denial and of self-renunciation: keep it in yourselves: it is indispensable to your discipleship. And let it show itself in your humble bearing: not in *disputing which shall be greatest*, (verse 34,) but in having *peace one with another.*" The close connexion of the two clauses, "*Have salt,*" and "*Have peace,*" must not be overlooked. Where salt is, there is peace: for salt does not separate, but binds together. Strikingly illustrative of this is the custom of the Arabian princes, who seal their covenants and agreements by strewing salt over bread, with the formula, "*Salaam!* (peace!) I am the friend of thy friends, and the foe of thy foes." In a society whose members are striving for supremacy, instead of peace, there will be constant strife; but where, with self-sacrificing lowliness of heart, each "*esteems his brother above himself,*" *there* peace will have her abiding-place.

Thus, it appears to us, the several clauses of this passage are placed in clear and unforced connexion with each other; and the passage itself, with the preceding context. We may therefore rest our interpretation here, without examining all the various expositions that have been given, as none of them secure such a connexion satisfactorily.

ART. V.—LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THE LATE DR. RICHARDS.

Lectures on Mental Philosophy and Theology. By JAMES RICHARDS, D. D., late Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary at Auburn, New-York. With a Sketch of his Life, by SAMUEL H. GRIDLEY, Pastor of the Presbyterian Congregation, Waterloo, New-York. Published by M. W. Dodd, New-York, 1846.

THE time has been when it was supposed hardly possible for the American Church to produce a book on any branch of divinity, which might be regarded as a standard. Everything American must, *per se*, be dwarfish. Even religion was doomed to live on exotics. A domestic imprint was enough to prejudice irreparably any work on the higher themes of theology or philosophy. If it were not authenticated by a European stamp, it could be scarcely worth reading; so that, if the manuscript were made in this country, the author must needs cross the Atlantic to publish it, or he might calculate with certainty on utter neglect. The minister, the student in theology, and the private Christian, were alike adjudged safe only when walking in the light of some European rabbi.

But matters are undergoing—if, indeed, they have not already undergone—a most pleasing revolution. Religious books of American origin, and many of them of a very high character, are rapidly multiplying. There is, indeed, scarcely any branch of Christian theology upon which home authorship has not poured additional light. Biblical criticism, sacred geography, archaeology, history, astronomy, and the like, have all come in for their share of attention, and have been treated with distinguished ability. Commentaries, bodies of divinity, and essays on particular points of Christian doctrine, experience, and duty, have been flowing out from the American press, and adding to our stock of theological literature. In all this we rejoice, yea, and will rejoice.

Cherishing these views and feelings, we hailed with great satisfaction the publication of the volume named at the head of this article. And though an earlier notice might have been in many respects desirable, we deem it better to give our readers some account of the book and its author at this late period than not at all. The author of the Lectures was evidently a man of deep piety, sound sense, and considerable learning. In mental philosophy and Christian theology, especially, his friends would, we suppose, claim for him the greatest distinction. Herein, doubtless, he chiefly excelled.

It was a reasonable presumption on the part of Dr. Richards'

friends, that the Christian public would wish to know something of his personal history. Preliminary to these Lectures, therefore, and as an appropriate introduction to them, the Rev. Samuel H. Gridley, of Waterloo, N. Y., has furnished a very simple and concise memoir of their lamented author. He was born in New-Canaan, Conn., Oct. 29, 1767, and was the eldest son of James Richards and Ruth Hanford, who, though in humble life, were blessed with a numerous and somewhat distinguished progeny. Ruth Hanford is represented as a woman of "vigorous intellect, of consistent piety, and of uncompromising faithfulness in all matters of social duty." The subject of this biographical sketch, though a weak and feeble boy, was remarkable for his studious habits. His fondness for study and his activity of mind procured for him the place of common-school teacher, when only about thirteen years of age. Still, however, his friends, probably from inability to support him, seem to have cherished no early design to give him a public education. His father allowed him, when only fifteen years of age, to leave home and seek such employment as might suit his own inclination—an example which we should not think it very safe to follow. In the present instance, however, it seems to have led to no unfavourable result. James apprenticed himself to the cabinet and chair-making business, and was successively employed in Newtown, Danbury, and Stamford, in his native State, and in the city of New-York. While in Stamford, and in the nineteenth year of his age, he was made the subject of a gracious change, and immediately commenced a new life. A paragraph occurs here in the Memoir, over which we cannot pass in silence. Taken altogether, it is one of the most remarkable with which we remember to have met in the whole course of our reading. Referring to this early part of Dr. Richards' Christian experience, his biographer says:—

"In speaking of his feelings previous to his conversion, and in connexion with it, he once said in substance as follows to one of his classes in the lecture-room in the Theological Seminary at Auburn:—'I had long cherished the idea that I could be converted when I pleased, that faith preceded conversion, and that, by exercising it, I could lay God under obligation to give me a new heart. The time for the experiment at last came. My sins found me out, and I attempted to believe according to my cherished notions of faith, and thus induce God to give me the grace of regeneration. For several days I struggled and struggled in vain. I began to see my own impotency, and consequently my dependence on the sovereign interposition of God; and the more I saw, the more I hated. I became alarmed in view of my enmity, and began to feel I had passed beyond my day of grace, and was rapidly sinking to hell. But at length my soul melted, and the method of salvation I had hated became my joy and my song.' In accordance with the foregoing, (continues Mr. Gridley,) he was accustomed more familiarly to say, 'I was *born* an Arminian, and *lived* an Arminian; but, obstinate free-willer as I was, at length by sovereign power

and mercy I was brought to *lick the dust of God's footstool*, and accept of salvation *by grace.*"—Pp. 12, 13.

Though this extraordinary paragraph relates to the early religious experience of Dr. Richards, it is not the language of an untutored young man, in the nineteenth year of his age. Were it so, we could readily excuse it. But it is the language of a learned professor of Christian theology, and the President of the Auburn Theological Seminary. It is, if the biographer have reported correctly, the deliberate utterance of the class-room, where the lecturer, free from excitement, was imparting instruction to candidates for the Christian ministry. Viewed in this light, we repeat it, the paragraph is most extraordinary. It would seem utterly impossible that a man of Dr. Richards' attainments could entertain such ideas of Arminianism as those which are developed in the preceding quotation. With one single exception, it is, from beginning to end, a tissue of misrepresentation. The candid examinations of the learned theological professor at Andover, the Rev. Moses Stuart, conducted him to the conclusion, that had Arminius himself lived in the present age, he would have been considered "a moderate Calvinist." But the character imputed to Arminianism by Dr. Richards would make it incomparably worse than even the worst possible form of Socinianism. Did Arminius teach, do any of his accredited followers now teach, that a sinner may be converted just when he pleases, and that, by the exercise of faith, he can lay God under obligations to give him a new heart? We ask for specification—for book, chapter, and verse—which, we are quite sure, will never be given us. We know that certain modern divines have taught the doctrine of self-conversion, and have maintained, or rather *attempted* to maintain, that sinners have "natural ability" to change their own hearts. But, surely, these are not Arminians. So far from it, that they would probably consider themselves slandered were their names forced into such a category. Whether Dr. Richards would sympathize with these divines, we know not; and certainly have reason to hope he would not. But as to his being a "free-willer," we know not how he could ever have been a more "obstinate" one than he was at the time of delivering these Lectures. In the three which professedly treat upon the will, he everywhere maintains its perfect freedom; and in the one entitled "Ability and Inability," he asserts the same thing in almost every possible form of expression. Take the following examples:—

"All who sit under the sound of the Gospel may come [to Christ] if they *will*: a thousand and a thousand times have they been invited and commanded to come, and receive the gift of eternal life."

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“Nor, in the next place, is it the want of *natural powers*:—by which I mean those powers and faculties that belong to them as men, and which are necessary to constitute them moral agents, or free and accountable beings—such as an *understanding*, to perceive the difference between right and wrong; and a *will*, to determine their own actions in view of motives. Destroy either of these faculties, and they would no longer be accountable, nor their actions subject to any moral regulation. Without *understanding*, they would hold no higher place in the scale of being than the birds of the air and the beasts of the field; and without *will*, or the faculty of determining their own actions, they would be incapable of freedom, and bound by no law. We want no proof of this statement; the bare mention of the case is sufficient.”—P. 482.

It seems, then, that the sole reason why the sinner does not come to Christ, is, that he wants the will to come. And yet the will is perfectly free,—that is to say, the sinner can, at pleasure, “determine his own actions.” He can, of himself, determine to come to Christ—repent, believe, and obey. Now it would, we apprehend, be impossible for the doctor to find an evangelical Arminian on earth who has such extravagant notions respecting the freedom of the human will. And if the doctor himself were ever a more “obstinate free-willer” than he was at the time he delivered this lecture, it would certainly be difficult to conceive terms adequate to express his obstinacy. But let us see how this same subject is regarded by Arminians—those “obstinate free-willers.”

Our eighth article of religion, entitled, “Of Free Will,” runs thus:—“The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and works, to faith and calling upon God; wherefore we have no power to do good works, pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will.” Such were the deliberately expressed views of the early Reformers, and such are the views of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We hold that man, in his fallen condition, is weak and powerless; so as to be utterly incapable of taking even the first step in his return to God. In the language of the late Dr. Fisk, “It is not pretended that any intellectual faculties are lost by sin, or restored by grace; but that the faculties that are essential to mind have become corrupted, darkened, debilitated, so as to render man utterly incapable of a right choice without prevenient and co-operating grace. As muscular or nervous power in a limb, or an external sense, may be weakened or destroyed by physical disease; so the moral power of the mind, or inward sense, may be weakened or destroyed by moral disease. And it is in perfect accordance with analogy, with universal language, and with the representations of Scripture, to consider the mind as susceptible, in its essential nature, of this moral deterioration. The simple state-

ment of the matter is, *the soul has become essentially disordered by sin*; and as no one can prove the assertion to be unphilosophical, or contrary to experience; so I think it may be shown from Scripture that this is the real state of fallen human nature. And it may also be shown that this disorder is such as to mar man's free agency. There is a sense, indeed, in which all voluntary preference may be considered as implying free agency. But voluntary preference does not necessarily imply *such a free agency* as involves moral responsibility. The mind may be free to act *in one direction*, and yet it may have so entirely lost its moral equilibrium as to be utterly incapable, of its own nature, to act in an opposite direction, and therefore not, in the full and responsible sense, a free agent. The understanding may be darkened, the conscience seared or polluted, the will, that is, the power of willing, may, to all good purposes, be enthralled; and this is what we affirm to be the true state and condition of unaided human nature."*

All of this the writer might affirm with the utmost confidence, for it is the exact teaching of the inspired volume. By nature, we are "without strength," being "dead in trespasses and in sins." "Without me," says the great Teacher, "ye can do nothing." And elsewhere, on the same principle, he affirms, "No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him." "It is God," says St. Paul, "that worketh in us both to will and to do." In the common fall we lost both the ability and the inclination to serve God, and for both we are dependent on him. This is Arminianism; certainly a very different thing from what Dr. Richards—provided he be correctly reported—would represent it to be.

We have intimated, that, in one single point, the doctor does no injustice to Arminians. They do, so far as we are informed, universally hold that "faith precedes conversion;" understanding conversion to be equivalent to, or identical with, regeneration. The word has not, we know, as used by our Calvinistic brethren, a very fixed and definite signification; as they sometimes use it in one sense, and sometimes in another. But as Dr. Richards speaks, in the same connexion, of "inducing God to give him the grace of regeneration," and to "give him a new heart," it is probable that he uses the two words as signifying the same thing. If so, we suppose we must infer that the doctor did really hold that a sinner is regenerated before he believes! We know that he holds to justification by faith,—that is, to justification consequent upon faith; for he maintains the doctrine, strongly and clearly, in his two admirable lectures on the subject. We should be glad to know, then, what relation the

* Calvinistic Controversy, p. 160.

doctor supposed regeneration to sustain to justification. He could not, of course, hold with most approved divines that it is a concomitant of it; for, in that case, it must *succeed*, rather than *precede*, justifying faith. According to this teaching, then, the three things, so far as order of time is concerned, stand in the following relation to each other,—regeneration, faith, justification; faith a fruit of regeneration, and justification a fruit or consequence of faith! Now all of this may be sound theology, for aught we know, in the school to which the biographer belongs, and to which, possibly, his subject belonged; but, really, we have not so understood the oracles of God, and especially as interpreted by the steady voice of Christian experience.

There are several other things in the ill-timed and singularly offensive paragraph which we have quoted from the Memoir, that might justify still further animadversion; but, having noticed the more exceptionable points, we gladly drop the subject. In truth, to be obliged to say a single word in the least disparaging to the memory of the venerable Richards, has been exceedingly painful to our feelings. But perhaps, after all, the biographer, rather than his subject, is to blame in this matter; for it may well be doubted whether the doctor himself would have ever sanctioned the publication of anything so inexcusably offensive to his Christian brethren. We are glad, then, to return again to the Memoir.

Having found peace with God, young Richards regarded himself as divinely called to the Christian ministry, and immediately entered upon a course of preparation therefor. Under the instruction of Dr. Burnett, of Norwalk, he completed his preparation for college, and then went through the freshman year at Yale; when, his money failing, he returned and put himself again under the tuition of Dr. Burnett,—his diminished expenses being now generously defrayed by certain pious female relatives. Having abandoned all hope of a full college course, he next put himself under the instruction of the late celebrated Dr. Dwight, then teaching an academy at Greenfield, Conn., and there remained till he obtained license to preach the Gospel. After filling several short engagements, he accepted a call, in 1794, to become the pastor of a congregation in Morristown, N. J. Here he exercised his ministry with great fidelity and success till 1809, when he was called to the pastorate of the Newark Presbyterian Church, as successor of the late celebrated Dr. Griffin, then recently elected to a theological professorship at Andover. In this new and somewhat difficult position, his reputation as a divine continued steadily to advance; so that, in 1815, he received the degree of doctor in divinity from two colleges,—Union and Yale. Being regarded as a man of uncommon theological attainments, young men

looking to the Christian ministry frequently availed themselves of his instructions, and studied under his direction. This circumstance brought him still further into public notice; so that in 1823 he was unanimously elected to the Theological Professorship in the Auburn Seminary, where, for upwards of twenty years, he was not only regarded as the head of the institution, but took an active and prominent part in training young men for the work of the ministry. The Lectures now before us, we suppose, with many others, were delivered during his connexion with this "school of the prophets;" and have, since his death, been selected and arranged for publication.

The preceding history suggests one obvious reflection. It has been seen that Dr. Richards did not obtain, in early life, what is commonly called a finished education. His actual connexion with a college extended through one year only. To some men such a failure might have been a serious misfortune;—whether it were so to him is really problematical. He was bent on being a scholar—on acquiring that kind and degree of knowledge that would make him useful to his fellow-men; and it is by no means improbable that the deprivation to which we have just referred, while it increased his solicitude, greatly stimulated his exertions. What he might have been had he secured a more regular training, it is, of course, impossible to say; though we cannot help presuming that, in that case, he might have acquired much less distinction than he actually did. Certain it is, that many men who have been eminently successful in literary and philosophical pursuits, and who have exerted the widest and most salutary influence in the world of mind and morals, have been utter strangers to what is popularly denominated "a liberal education." They were, as the phrase is, self-made men. Energy of character supplied the place of outward facilities. Were it necessary, we might multiply examples. They might be found in ancient as well as in modern times,—in our country, and in almost all others.

But the fact must not be abused or misapplied. No fair inference can be deduced from it unfriendly to literary institutions. If, without these, some men have risen to great eminence, such has not been the case with the majority. Those elements of character which take men upward, independently of such helps as are found in institutions of learning, are rarely met with, and should, perhaps, be regarded as exceptions to a general rule. Some men have travelled safely and expeditiously by night; but who would think of concluding from hence that the sun is no blessing to the world of travellers? Because individual minds are so constituted that obstacles operate upon them as stimulants, or because men have sometimes risen to eminence, in

spite of apparently insuperable impediments, no one is authorized to argue against the value of those aids and facilities which are always found, in a greater or less degree, in well-conducted public schools.

Before we discuss the Memoir, it may, perhaps, be proper to say, that the last days of Dr. Richards corresponded well to the general tenor of his active and useful life. He was employed in the appropriate duties of his professorship, nearly up to the closing scene; so that it was almost literally true of him, that

"He ceased at once to work and live."

It was very apparent to his friends, for a long time, that he was ripening for heaven; that his habits of thought and feeling were becoming more and more devotional; and that his sympathies with the celestial world were more and more active and influential. Thus he went on, till he quietly reached the end; and, on the 2d of August, 1843, entered into his rest.

We have already intimated that Dr. Richards excelled chiefly in Mental Philosophy and Christian Theology. The duties of his professorship naturally led him to these pursuits, and the industry with which he prosecuted them is evident from the volume before us. The Lectures are twenty-four in number;—eight are devoted to the discussion of important questions in Philosophy, and the rest to Divinity. The first three in the series relate to the Human Will,—that real *crux philosophorum*. The lectures by no means attempt anything like a systematic essay on the subject. The aim of the lecturer, as an undeviating follower of Jonathan Edwards, seems to have been merely to place in a little stronger and clearer light certain fundamental points of Edwards' metaphysics. That distinguished writer, it is well known, identifies *desire* and *will*; the latter being, according to his theory, concerned in all our preferences, choices, likes, and dislikes,—to whatever objects they may be directed. Conformably with this view of the subject, Dr. Richards classifies the acts of the will into "immanent" and "deliberate;" by the former of which he means those mental states or moral affections which contemplate no action as their immediate result; and, by the latter, those "imperiate" and "determinate" acts of the will which have immediate reference to our own conduct. Volitions of the one class remain in the mind, and do not flow out into action; those of the other are closely connected with all our formal and deliberate movements. Of these two classes the lecturer says:—

"Though admitted to be *exercises* of the same faculty, and to be phenomena of the same generic character, yet they are clothed with very different circum-

stances; and we shall find, upon examination, that what is true of the one is not always true of the other, and that in several important particulars."—Pp. 107, 108.

Accordingly, he proceeds to state the several particulars in which he supposes the two classes of volition to differ from each other. But the principal point which he labours to establish is, that virtue and vice are properly predicable only of these "immanent volitions" or acts of the will. He maintains that they are the seat of all culpability and praiseworthiness; while the deliberate acts of the will do not constitute, but merely indicate, the moral character of the agent. Nor will he admit that man has any such power of introverted action as will enable him to change these inward habits of feeling, or "immanent volitions." They arise spontaneously in view of their object, and are just what they are, independently of all deliberation and choice. But still Dr. Richards thinks that his view of the subject need create no difficulty on the score of moral agency and accountability. He says:—

"Our affections are as much our exercises, and the exercises of our will, as our deliberate choices or volitions; and altogether as much the immediate and proper object of command. Nay, a regard is had to them in every command which God gives, while his law is summed up in two great precepts, immediately addressed to our hearts:—'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, soul, mind, and strength, and thy neighbour as thyself.' The truth is, that in every exercise of the will, the agent acts freely; and *his* act is to be judged of by its own nature. If it be a deliberate act, we decide upon its character, so far as it has any, by the principle or motive which governed it. If it be a deliberate act, it is, nevertheless, a free act, arising spontaneously in view of its object; and if it be of a moral character, this character is to be determined by comparing it with the law of duty."—Pp. 149, 150.

So as we can perceive, then, the question which the doctor so earnestly discusses has no immediate or necessary connexion with moral character. It seems to be almost purely psychological. For, if our affections are wholly voluntary and unconstrained, we are unable to perceive that it makes any appreciable difference whether they are exercised in immediate view of a given object, or are put forth by a deliberate and reflective act of the will. As a question in mental philosophy, the point may be deserving of consideration; but in no other view does it strike us as being particularly important. It should not be forgotten, however, that Dr. Richards was strictly Edwardean in his views of the human will;—maintaining that motives have an absolute control over all its volitions. These motives are extraneous to the mind, and are all arranged "in number, measure, weight," by a foreign hand. The will has no self-determining power. It is free; but its freedom is that of the pendulum of the clock, which vibrates freely because the extrinsic force is sufficient

to *make* it do so. The only difference is, one acts under a law of mechanics; the other under a supposed law of mind. It is really cheering to know that views so utterly inconsistent with human accountability, and so subversive of the whole moral government of Him that sitteth on the throne, are now abandoned even by many Calvinists.

The two lectures "ON CREATION" exhibit the author's metaphysical powers to great advantage. If not the strongest, they are among the strongest, in the whole series. Dr. Richards shows, by arguments which to us seem absolutely conclusive, "that created substances are possessed of properties and powers which are inseparable from their very being; or that, in truth, there are no created substances; and, if no created substances, no creation,—and that consequently the whole system of things, if things they can be called, is only God in operation, or God in exercise."—P. 180. But the doctor, in replying to an objection which he foresaw would be made by necessitarian Calvinists to his theory, fully commits himself to the doctrine of the divine decrees, Calvinistically understood; and thus, in effect, completely neutralizes his whole argument. The following is the passage to which we refer:—

"It is asked, if creatures act from the intrinsic powers of their own being, or from the constitution of their being, if this does not render them virtually independent of God? The argument is, if creatures may act without the immediate agency of God in them, and upon them, causing them to act, what control has God over them? How do we know but that they will get away from God, or, at least, counteract his will? Our answer is, That, in giving creatures their existence, God gave them such a constitution, and surrounded them with such influences, as necessarily to secure that course of action, or that precise development of their powers in every instance, as his infinite wisdom and goodness had predetermined. His *decretive will*, therefore, in regard to them, will most certainly be executed, and with no more difficulty on this supposition than any other."—P. 182.

Here we confess ourselves utterly mystified. We are wholly unable to account for the lecturer's anxiety to exculpate the Moral Ruler of the universe from all *immediate* agency in the conduct of men. The idea that God should be *directly* concerned in those wicked actions which are constantly taking place in our fallen world, seems to be absolutely shocking to the good feeling of the author. But why so? What matters it whether God do a thing immediately, or only mediately? Is he not in either case equally the author? How does the number of intermediate agencies or instrumentalities in the least change his relation to that thing? If they are all selected and arranged by his own hand, and so selected and arranged, whether few or many, with a view to a specific end, God's moral connexion with that end is, so far as we are able to see, precisely the same as though it were brought about by the direct exertion of his Almighty power.

Thus, certainly, we always judge of human responsibility; and God himself has set us the example of so judging.

Take a single instance. To secure a particular end, King David found it needful by some means to get Uriah, the husband of Bathsheba, out of his way. But how should he do it? To lay violent hands on him himself, seemed hardly consistent with the honour and purity of his throne. Besides, he must not appear a monster of cruelty in the eyes of his subjects. Hence, the end must be secured by a series of intermediate agents; and it is not impossible but that the royal murderer, blinded by passion, really supposed his wily scheme would, somehow, make others responsible for the bloody deed. Accordingly, matters were so arranged that Uriah must certainly fall by the hand of the Ammonites; and yet fall in such a way that no responsibility might *seem* to attach to the throne of Israel. David did not himself do the deed; he only "surrounded" the case—to adopt the language of the lecturer—with "such influences as necessarily to secure" the end. But God charges the crime directly upon him, as much so as if he had perpetrated it with his own hand. The prophet Nathan said to him, under divine instruction, "*Thou hast killed Uriah the Hittite with the sword, . . . and hast slain him with the sword of the children of Ammon.*" 2 Sam. xii, 9. Tested by the principle here laid down, the theory of Dr. Richards appears bad enough.

Lectures sixth, seventh, and eighth, "ON SECOND CAUSES," advocate doctrine substantially the same with that of the two on Creation. While, in those last named, the author endeavours to make it appear that in the visible creation there is something distinct from God, something *ab extra* in relation to him, possessing neither his substance nor his attributes, but endowed with properties and attributes essentially its own,—in the others he maintains the efficiency of second causes, showing that these causes are causes *per se*, operating by their own inherent energy, and operating as truly in their humble spheres as does even the Great First Cause in the mighty works which he performs. It seems, however, by no means to have been the design of Dr. Richards merely to maintain a simple fact in speculative philosophy. He had altogether higher and nobler ends in view. He evidently had a painful impression that much of the current philosophy tended directly to compromise the character of the divine Being, by making him a party to the conduct of wicked men. Revering that character, he would do all he could to clear it from so false an aspersion. Utterly rejecting the Pantheistic idea, that

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body nature is, and God the soul,"

he contends that subordinate agents are invested with a power of their own, and are accordingly to be held accountable for their conduct. That any one should even attempt to maintain that the divine efficiency is *immediately* concerned in the production of moral evil, seems to give our lecturer, we repeat it, the most exquisite pain. With Elihu, in the drama of Job, he is ready to exclaim, "Far be it from God that he should do wickedness, and from the Almighty that he should commit iniquity." And he sustains his positions with rare power of argument and felicity of illustration. Before his acute and vigorous logic, all the fundamental doctrines of the necessitarian school became "as the chaff of the summer threshing-floor." Want of space alone prevents us from copying several examples, particularly from the third and last lecture on the subject.

But after all,—can the reader believe it?—the doctor abandons the argument! Not, indeed, formally and professedly, but by plain implication. So, at least, it seems to us. He makes concessions which are fatal to his whole case. Though he would maintain the efficiency of second causes, and the consequent strict and proper accountability of man, he must not abjure his Calvinistic creed. God *has* foreordained whatsoever comes to pass, and the lecturer must take heed to express his full and thorough conviction of the fact. The "decrees" encompass all, direct all, govern all,—first, last, intermediate—world without end! Hear what he says on page 231:—

"Man always acts under the influence of motive, when he acts voluntarily; and when he does not act voluntarily, he acts under the influence of causes, either within or without, which are adapted to his various powers and susceptibilities. These causes are all known, measured, and appointed by the divine Wisdom, and their influence is just what God expected and intended. Everything, therefore, goes on according to the divine Counsel; and, so far as this statement is concerned according to a previous arrangement in the unsearchable wisdom and boundless power of the Great First Cause. Man, in these circumstances, will neither do anything, nor forbear to do anything, which had not been previously provided for in the nature of his being and in the objects which surround him."

Though parts of the phraseology in the above quotation are somewhat equivocal, there is perhaps no reason to doubt that the author intended to express in a guarded way his entire approval of the Calvinistic view of predestination. That is to say, he meant to concede the truth of what Calvin so explicitly and emphatically asserts, namely, "that nothing can come to pass but was ordained of God." What is gained, then, though the efficiency of second causes—as Dr. Richards uses the phrase—be fully established? Are not these second causes just what God designed they should be? Can any

one of them perform a function, varying in the slightest degree from its specific and unalterable allotment? Did not God select and arrange them, "from all eternity," with a view to the accomplishment of this particular end? What a pity that our excellent and venerable author should involve himself in such palpable contradictions and absurdities! The whole argument looks much as would an effort to reconcile the ancient with the modern system of astronomy. There are some reasons for supposing that the *earth* is the centre of our system, and that the sun, moon, and stars perform a daily revolution around her;—therefore, I profess to be a firm believer in the ancient astronomy. But, then, the reasons for embracing the modern system are too strong to be resisted; and, hence, I cordially receive the doctrine of Copernicus and Newton,—not doubting that the *sun* is the centre of our system, and that the earth, moon, and stars, turning upon their own axis, perform an annual revolution around him. Now, what would be thought of a man who should deliberately put forth and solemnly profess to believe propositions so utterly inconsistent with each other? Would his absurdity be greater than that of the man who professes to believe in the real efficiency of second causes and the true accountability of man, on the one hand, and in the divine decrees, Calvinistically understood, on the other. They are clashing theories, incapable of reconciliation. If the one be true, the other cannot be.

The lecturer now enters another and somewhat different field. Hitherto he had consulted only what he supposed to be the decisions of philosophy touching certain matters which he regarded as having more or less connexion with the teachings of the Christian pulpit. Proceeding now to the consideration of topics of a more purely theological character, he makes his appeal to the Book of God. Lectures ninth and twelfth, inclusive, turn upon "The fall of man," and his consequent "natural depravity." It is, however, deeply to be regretted—and the doctor himself in some sense participates in the regret—that he has allowed his philosophy considerable scope in his disquisitions upon even these topics,—a result which he thinks to be almost, or quite, unavoidable. He opens the discussion in the following words:—

"Were it possible to consider the Scriptural account of the fall apart from all human philosophy, I should think it extremely desirable. First, it would evince a proper disposition on our part to submit to the testimony of God; and, secondly, it would be likely to conduct us to a true and safe result. But, in present circumstances, I know not that this can well be expected. Every man has his own philosophy, and he can hardly escape its influence if he would. Insensibly to himself, and almost *necessarily*, he brings it to bear on the interpretation of the Sacred Text; and hence such a variety of interpretations of passages relating to the subject before us."—P. 236.

We cannot go the whole length of the sentiment here advanced. That every one is under a strong *tendency* to listen to the whispers of his philosophy, when he attempts to understand and explain the Word of God, is readily granted. Nothing is more natural than that it should be so. But we cannot admit that there is any sort of "*necessity*" in the case. Were this the fact, it would have been well if philosophy had never had being; and it would be the duty of the Christian world to enter upon a war of extermination against it. For, if philosophy *must* meddle with such matters, the sooner she is out of existence the better. The simple disciple of the Saviour, unread in mental and moral science, would be much the more safe interpreter of the Word of God. Not only would "a little learning be a dangerous thing," but "much learning" would make a man so "mad," that he could not divest himself of his philosophical biases in interpreting the Sacred Writings! Now, we do not believe this. We cannot see why a man may not lay all of his philosophy at the foot of the cross, as well as his riches, and take the Bible just as it reads. Newton did thus, Locke did this, Hale did this;—and we know no reason why others may not do it. If, as a late able writer* in this Journal supposes, the distinguishing characteristic of Methodism be "*religion without philosophy*," we pray that the characteristic may never be forfeited. "What is the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord."

We are happy, however, to say that Dr. Richards supposes and maintains that the fall of man was wholly the result of second causes. To make God "immediate" author, would involve the most shocking absurdities. But then this position would have stood just as well without the aid of the lecturer's philosophy. The declaration of the great Teacher, "*An enemy hath done this*," should place the point beyond all question among true disciples. Upon whomsoever rests the blame, no portion of it attaches to the Throne eternal. God cannot be the author of sin. All his attributes are outraged by the supposition. But here again our author falters. He builds the castle of truth with one hand, and then demolishes it with

* We would not, by any means, be understood as approving all the views of the writer in question. His article, (the first in the October number, 1848,) "*What is Methodism?*" is, on the whole, a most valuable production. Indeed, few more ably written or profoundly interesting have ever appeared in this journal. We trust that Methodist preachers, especially, have read it carefully. If, however, the writer mean to condemn all philosophy, even when put in its proper place—as some seem to suppose—then, certainly, we must dissent from him. Nor can we sanction his sweeping condemnation of theological schools. To argue against the use of a thing from the abuse of it, has never been considered as having the sanction, not to say of sound philosophy but, of common justice.

the other. Just as his "philosophy" is about to achieve an important victory, she deserts her colours and flies off into the ranks of the enemy. Following her cowardly example, the doctor says,—

"But if this reasoning be just, then second causes only were immediately concerned in producing the fall, for no others are mentioned as acting in the case. I say *immediately* concerned; for it is not denied that God himself, the Great First Cause, was remotely concerned. It was a part of his counsel; and the second causes in the case owed their existence to him, with all their powers, and to him it belonged to bound or restrain their influence at pleasure."—P. 243.

But notwithstanding these occasional speculative aberrations, the lectures on the fall of man and his consequent depravity are, in the main, very excellent. It must, however, always be understood, that when we commend we do not mean to sanction the use of certain forms of expression which very frequently occur in all of these lectures, and for which we should certainly be glad to substitute a more simple and Scriptural phraseology.

In regard to the *extent* of the atonement, which is the subject of the thirteenth lecture, Dr. Richards is full and satisfactory. To show that Christ did really die for the whole human family, and with a view to render salvation possible to all men, he quotes the same Scriptures, and uses many of the same arguments, which are commonly met with in the essays of Arminians on the same subject. Indeed, though he makes no specific allusion to them, it is very apparent that he has closely read Watson's Theological Institutes. While the lecturer doubts whether the doctrine of a limited atonement was held at all in the primitive Church, he demonstrates by documentary evidence the most clear and conclusive, that the early Reformers taught the direct opposite of it. Thus also with their immediate successors.

But Dr. Richards' inconsistency still cleaves to him. Though he believes that Christ died for all men, he nevertheless restricts "the *ultimate* object of his death" to his "sheep," his "Church," his "friends;" leaving the rest—it would be difficult to tell where. At least, it was never his "ultimate object" to benefit them in the least by his death. How strangely the following reads, after an elaborate argument in favour of a universal atonement:—

"Doubtless, Christ died with an intention of saving those who were given him in the covenant of redemption; they were the seed to serve him, promised as a reward for his agony and bloody sweat; and he looked to their salvation as the fruit of his sufferings, and as the joy set before him. But such an ultimate design of his death, which included the application which should be made of it by the sovereign and discriminating grace of God, hinders not the availableness of his sacrifice in relation to all, nor throws the least suspicion upon the doctrine which we have advocated in this lecture.

Because he died with the declared design of saving his people, does it follow that he had no other design? Because this was an ultimate end sought in his death, is it a just consequence that he could have had no other end, either immediate or ultimate? Doubtless, whatever follows as the proper result of his atoning sacrifice, he sought more immediately or remotely as an end of his undertaking in this infinitely solemn and amazing tragedy."—P. 321.

Now, in view of the foregoing, whether the fault be justly chargeable upon the lecturer or upon the reader, one can hardly avoid exclaiming, Alas for the weakness of the human understanding!

The next three lectures may be properly classed together. They turn upon those kindred and closely connected topics, "Election" and "Effectual Calling." It cannot be said, however, that the author produces anything new or striking upon either the one or the other. He pursues a beaten path; employing arguments and illustrations which have, in substance, been employed a thousand times before; and, we may add, which have as often been answered. His starting point is Acts xiii, 48: "And as many as were ordained to eternal life believed." An effort is made—we cannot say a strong one—to show that *τεταγμένοι* and its cognates mean preordination. Indeed, we are strongly inclined to think that the doctor could not have been fully satisfied with his own conclusions; for in neither of the passages which he quotes has the word the sense of predestination. And we think we hazard nothing in saying that the word, when used by itself, never has that signification in the New Testament. Accordingly, when St. Luke wishes to convey the idea of preordination, he combines it with a preposition, and uses a compound verb: "And hath determined the times *before appointed*," *πρὸτεταγμένων*. Acts xvii, 26. This was really *preordination*, and the apostle so denominates it. But in the text now under consideration, he speaks not of *preordination*, but of *ordination* only.

The two lectures "On Justification"—the seventeenth and eighteenth in the series—are, in the main, not only unexceptionable, but truly able. Both the ground and the instrument of the sinner's pardon and acceptance with God are stated with much force and perspicuity. In his description of justifying faith, especially, the lecturer is most happy. The thing is made so plain, that no candid and discriminating mind can fail to comprehend it: but then, even in these lectures, the author has committed some unaccountable, perhaps we might say, inexcusable, errors. How he could have imagined that Arminians are disposed to "bring in the system of human contrition and human endeavour as making a part, and a prominent part, of that righteousness, on account of which a sinner is to hope for the absolving sentence and final approbation of his

Judge," (p. 382,) is to us utterly astonishing. He says, in so many words, "that this spurious notion of justification is to be found not only in churches which are professedly Arminian, and where the sentiment is openly avowed and defended, but in other churches also." To what "other churches" he refers, we know not; certainly we are under no obligations to defend them. But so far as the Methodist Episcopal Church—which is usually understood to be Arminian in her doctrinal views—is concerned, we deny the position in toto. The imputation is both cruel and unfounded. It is at war with our articles of faith, with our acknowledged standards of doctrine, and, we may add, with all our feelings as professing Christians. Nor can we excuse the lecturer on the supposition that he refers to some anti-evangelical sect of Arminians, which may have existed in some distant age and portion of the world. The charge is a general one. Dr. Richards makes no discriminations. All Arminians, of whatever time or place, fall equally under the censure. We doubt, indeed, whether *any* class of them ever avowed sentiments so grossly anti-Scriptural. Be this, however, as it may, to charge the M. E. Church with attempting to maintain such views of justification as those stated above, is as unjust as it would be to charge her with being Pelagian or Socinian in her fundamental creed. And, if such be her faith, she is utterly unworthy of any place whatever in the "Evangelical Alliance." Let her affiliate at once with the "Mother of harlots!"

We must also strongly protest against the lecturer's Antinomian notion of an eternal justification. In his estimation, the sinner's pardon is "absolute" and "unconditional." He expressly says, p. 387, "That justification, once passed upon the sinner, is passed forever. The eternal Judge, when he absolves him, and grants him a title to life, does not do it hypothetically—suspending the favour, or the continuance of it, upon conditions yet to be performed." It would be difficult, we apprehend, to imagine anything in respect to justification more dangerous or unscriptural than the position here advanced. Dangerous it must be; for he who adopts it can hardly fail to act under the impression that nothing he can do, or omit to do, will in the least endanger his justification. Peter forfeited not his, by denying his Master with oaths and imprecations; nor David, by indulging his wicked passions in the matter of Uriah and Bathsheba! And the very fact that it is dangerous, most clearly shows it to be unscriptural. Nor is this a mere matter of inference. The Bible is everywhere most palpably in conflict with the notion of an absolute, unconditional, eternal justification. All the passages which the lecturer quotes in maintenance of his theory, are susceptible

of a very different interpretation; while a multitude of others can never be made, by any fair process of exegesis, to harmonize with it. Instance the following texts: "If thou forsake him, he will cast thee off forever." "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." "When the righteous turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, in his trespass that he hath trespassed, and in the sin that he hath sinned, in them shall he die." And especially would we direct attention to the closing part of the eighteenth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. Here the great Teacher tells us—after stating that the lord of the servant in the parable resumed his demand against him, the same demand that had been formally relinquished, because he refused to forgive his fellow-servant—"So likewise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother their trespasses."

The two lectures on prayer—nineteenth and twentieth—the one on prayer in general, and the other "On the Prayer of Faith" in particular, can hardly be over-estimated. Simple, plain, practical, and yet closely critical, they are among the very best things we ever read on the same subjects. Alone, they are worth more than the price of the whole volume. Would that every Christian in our land might read them.

Of the lecture "On Apostacy"—the next in order—which is chiefly an exegesis of Heb. vi, 4-6, we have neither space nor inclination for an extended notice. Dr. Richards takes the old Calvinistic position, that the defining terms used in this much-controverted text do not amount to a delineation of Christian character; and that, consequently, "the falling away" spoken of, means nothing more than such an abjuration of the Christian faith as might be made by any unconverted man, who had enjoyed great religious advantages. He gives no countenance to the exposition, which teaches, that, though the apostle does describe Christian character, he by no means intimates that Christians ever do, in fact, fall away; but only, *if they should*, they could not again be recovered. The idea that the apostle speaks hypothetically—putting a case which is physically possible, but morally impossible; and putting it with a view to awaken fear, and thus prevent the evil against which he would caution the Hebrews—the doctor shows to be utterly inconsistent with the scope and design of the apostle, as well as the very nature of the case. Touching the injustice of this modern exegesis of the passage, the lecture will be found to contain some valuable criticism, as well as argument. The very moment, then, that this being "enlightened," "tasting of the heavenly gift, the good word

of God, and the powers of the world to come," &c., are shown to be descriptive of saving religious attainments, the text goes with all its force against the doctrine of unconditional perseverance. But, if the terms here employed do not describe Christian character, then, certainly, Christian character is nowhere described in the New Testament; for terms of higher or stronger import are nowhere to be found. To have the "eyes of the understanding enlightened," to be "turned from darkness to light," to "have the Spirit of Christ," to "taste that the Lord is gracious," and the like, are, in all other connexions, understood to describe Christian character; and if the same terms, or still stronger ones, used in the text under consideration, are to be understood differently—then farewell to the best established principles of Biblical interpretation!

The only remaining lecture is entitled, "Ability and Inability." If we remember rightly, this discourse was first published in pamphlet form, some twenty-five or thirty years since. It was then read extensively, and evidently had some effect in modifying the doctrinal views of the Calvinistic Churches in this country. At any rate, our impression is, that, from the time of its publication, special prominence was given to the then comparatively novel doctrine of the sinner's "natural ability and moral inability," as well in the ministrations as publications of our Calvinistic brethren. Sinners were exhorted with unprecedented urgency to repent and turn to God; and were told that they *could*, if they *would*, do so. They were told that all the inability that existed in the case was a want of disposition; and the greater this species of inability, the greater the sin. This we suppose to be the teaching, in substance, of the lecture under review. The *whole* theory considered, however, we cannot perceive that it in the least helps the poor sinner, or at all increases the conviction of his moral responsibility. For is not this "inability," *alias* "want of disposition," wholly invincible? Has God furnished the unregenerate, the non-elect, the reprobate, or whatever else one might please to call them, with any aid by which this inability may be overcome? Can sinners *will* to come to Christ, in any good sense of that phrase, till God, by a "sovereign and discriminating act of grace," *makes* them do so? And will he do this for any but those "who were chosen in Christ from before the foundation of the world?" The only candid answer that can be given to these questions, by the advocates of the new theory, must place the sinner's inability just where it was placed by old-fashioned Calvinism. To tell him, then, that he can repent, if he will, is to mock him—is, in fact, a mere play upon words. The position, when detached from this specific and favourite con-

nexion, and placed in another, is not only admitted, but boldly advanced, by Dr. Richards himself. In his lecture "On Apostacy," he condemns, in the most pointed terms, the notion of some of his brethren that Heb. vi, 4-6, is to be understood as implying a natural ability finally and totally to backslide; or, in other words, a physical possibility of "falling away" from a state of grace. After pointing out, in strong language, the absurdity of supposing that the apostle would warn Christians against an apostacy which they knew never would—not to say *could*—happen, he proceeds to say:—

"Nor will it relieve the difficulty, in our apprehension, by resorting to a distinction sometimes made, that a thing may be physically possible, while it is morally impossible. For supposing an event to be physically possible while it is known to be morally impossible, or morally certain that it will never occur, can it, in these circumstances, be an object either of hope or of fear? Surely it will not be pretended that I can hope for an object which I know to be unattainable, let the cause of its unattainableness be what it may. And with as little justness can it be said that I can fear an object which I have the highest assurance will never exist. Did ever a man hope for the recovery of the finally lost, who firmly believes in the doctrine of eternal punishment? Or did ever a man fear that saints will fall from the fruition of heaven, who has not one doubt of the permanence of their bliss? The thing is in a high degree irrational, and can never take place while the laws of the human mind remain what they are."—Pp. 458, 459.

We have no further reply to make to the lecturer's views of Ability and Inability. Dr. Richards has answered himself!

We hope our brief review does not appear captious, or in the spirit of fault-finding. With all frankness and candour, we have felt nothing like this spirit. We venerate the memory of the late pious and learned president of the Auburn Theological Seminary, and we have a high opinion of these lectures. They contain a great amount of exceedingly valuable and interesting matter, and we trust they will be extensively read. But, at the same time, we believe that they contain some errors; and, so believing, we have taken the liberty to point them out. In all of this we have aimed to be guided by the golden rule—to do to others as we would be done unto.

ART. VI.—LOWELL'S VISION OF SIR LAUNFAL.

The Vision of Sir Launfal. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. Cambridge: published by George Nichols. 1848.

WE live, it is often said, in an age of *steam*; but this same steam, which excites the spleen of the croaker, prints our Bibles. While the energies of men are exerted with increasing intensity in the accumulation of material good, while in one aspect of life men seem in danger of becoming themselves mere thinking machines for the acquisition of money, there is another and a blessed influence at work;—a tendency that awakens bright hopes of the future. We live as truly in an age of *spiritual*, as of *outward* activity. If, as yet, we have produced no rivals of the giants of English literature who made the seventeenth century illustrious; if there are none who can follow the flight of Milton, as he “rises with his singing robes about him,” none who can soar with Shakspeare “into the highest heaven of invention;” yet there are now thousands who listen with rapt attention to their harmonies, where once only could be found rare admirers. Never before have the lofty minds and large hearts of the world been brought into so near contact with the people: never before have the new creations of genius been scattered abroad so freely in the humblest walks of life. And never before has there been so high an average culture of mind and heart, or so much general moral and mental activity, as at the present day.

Even the popular taste for Poetry is so largely on the increase, that we may soon have reason to call this a poetical as well as a mechanical age. Nor is there necessarily any antagonism in these tendencies. It is to this blending of the actual and the ideal, that we look forward with hope. When this union has been harmoniously accomplished, material wealth shall be sought for spiritual uses; outward prosperity shall be made to minister to inward culture; “divine discourse” shall incite “brave resolution;” high purposes exact earthly drudgery:—

—“We may do
Our Father's business in these temples mirk,
Thus swift and steadfast; thus intent and strong;
While thus, apart from toil, our souls pursue
Some high, calm, spheric tune, and prove our work
The better for the sweetness of our song.”

Yes; amid the noise and discordant jars of life, how much we need the sweet harmonies of song! Would that we could give the love of

poetry to all who are flushed with the fever of life, or harassed by its anxious cares! As we look on the editions which flood our land, it is a cheering thought to us that many a son of toil will have his heart lightened by the poet's buoyant inspiration, and his soul elevated by the celestial visions which first came to the poet's mind in hours of midnight thought.

Far enough shall we be from ranking poems indiscriminately under the head of "*light literature*;" unless the grocer's scales are to be the test. To us they are a very serious kind of literature. A bad poem may do far more harm than a bad sermon; for it may have a thousand times as many readers: while, on the other hand, a poem of high purpose may be the source of incalculable blessing. We cannot, therefore, but rejoice at the elevated moral tone to which the poetry of the day has risen. We need not now look on the beautiful creations of our poets with the feeling with which we gaze on the Laocoon, admiring the art, but shuddering at the serpent. Since the era of Wordsworth, we have had many a fair example to show us how near to each other "the kindred fountains of sanctity and beauty" may be, and how sweetly their waters may mingle.

LOWELL has written very few lines which we would wish to blot. Unfortunately, he has partially fallen into the hands of a *clique* who arrogate to themselves all the Christianity, as well as the anti-slavery sentiment, of the land; and they have infected him with some of their own prejudices and ultraisms. With this exception, however, his poems breathe a true Christian spirit. The sentiment of human brotherhood, arising from our common relation to the universal Father, finds in his verse a fuller and more constant expression than in that of any of his contemporaries. Between him and his brother poet, Whittier, there is a striking difference. The latter oftener makes every line of his song flash with indignation, and stirs all the heroic within us against wrong: Lowell loves rather to turn away from the sight of evil, and indulge his bright visions of the perfect good. He chooses oftener to sing of "the better day coming," than to denounce with Whittier's fiery lyrics the wrongs of the present. This we think the instinct of his poet nature. Still he has much, also, of the instinct of battle in him, as that curious medley of broad humour, keen wit, over-abundant satire, and honest invective, the "Biglow Papers," clearly shows.

There is in Lowell a happy union of qualities not often found together. He unites enthusiasm and calmness, vigour of thought and grace of diction, strength and harmony, a reverent love of duty, in its sternest aspect, a delicate sensibility to beauty in its every form. When we add to these high qualities the advantage of youth,

we know not, if he will only be patient, and resist the temptation of writing too fast and too much, any place among our poets to which he may not aspire. His last poem is certainly his most perfect production, and has won from no partial critic the high praise of comparison with Coleridge's "Christabel."

"THE VISION OF SIR LAUNFAL" is founded on what Lowell calls the "Mythology of the Romancers." It was a tradition that the San Grail, or Holy Cup, which was used by our Saviour at the last supper, was brought by Joseph of Arimathea into England; where it remained in the keeping of his descendants, until one of them forfeited the condition attached to its possession—purity of heart. From that time it disappeared, and thence became an object of search for the chivalrous knights. The plot of the "Vision" is very simple. Sir Launfal, on one of those bright days of June, when it is

—"The high tide of the year,
And whatever of life hath ebb'd away,
Comes flooding back, with a ripply cheer,"—

and when

"The soul partakes the season's youth,"—

remembers the keeping of his vow; and, calling for his golden spurs and richest mail, declares that there "shall never a bed be spread" for him until he has commenced his journey. As he lies on the rushes outside the castle gate, slumber descends upon him, and this vision comes. Forth from the castle he seems to spring on his charger, with his flashing armour illumining the dark gateway. As he passes, he beholds a leper crouching by its side, and tosses him "a piece of gold in scorn," which the leper raises not from the ground;—saying,

"That is no true alms which the hand can hold."

Years roll on in the moments of his dream, and, after many a weary pilgrimage, he has come back from his search, "an old bent man." It is mid-winter as he reaches his castle; and he sees

"The great hall-fire, so cheery and bold,
Through the window-slits of the castle old,
Build out its piers of ruddy light
Against the drift of the cold."

But he is driven away by the servant from its gate,

"For another heir in his earldom sate."

Little however did the loss of his earldom now affect him; for his heart was changed since he had set out on his journey; its deepest affections were on other objects.

"No more on his surcoat was blazon'd the cross,
But deep in his soul the sign he wore,
The badge of the suffering and the poor."

As he sits musing by the castle gate, seeking

—"Shelter from cold and snow,
In the light and warmth of long ago,"

he is startled by a voice asking, "For Christ's sweet sake" an alms. Behold, there again is the leper, "lank as the rain-blanch'd bone." His heart is touched; he "parts in twain his single crust, and breaks the ice on the streamlet's brink;" thus sharing his humble fare with the outcast. As with words of love he gives him to eat and drink, suddenly the leper is transformed, and stands up before him glorified; and

"A voice that was calmer than silence said,
'Lo, it is I, be not afraid!
In many climes, without avail,
Thou hast spent thy life for the Holy Grail;
Behold, it is here,—this cup which thou
Didst fill at the streamlet for me but now."

Sir Launfal awakes, exclaims that the Grail is found in his castle; bids the servants hang up his armour; and so changed is he by the vision, that the grim castle gates are opened to the sunshine, and welcome every wanderer. He holds his wealth but to bless; considers himself the steward of Heaven's bounties:—

"And there's no poor man in the North Countree,
But is lord of the earldom as much as he."

The Poem is divided into two parts; to each of which there is a Prelude of exceeding beauty. The first has a description of summer, and the second of winter, scenery,—vying with each other in picturesque naturalness. To say that they are the finest pieces of descriptive poetry we know of in the compass of American literature, is indeed high praise; but let no one pronounce it *too* high till he has read them. We hesitate to take out a mere fragment from these perfect pictures; but we will try to separate from the winter scene this sketch of frost-work:—

"Down swept the chill wind from the mountain peak,

* * * * *

The little brook heard it and built a roof,
'Neath which he could house him, winter-proof;
All night by the white stars' frosty gleams
He groin'd his arches and match'd his beams;
Slender and clear were his crystal spars
As the lashes of light that trim the stars;

He sculptured every summer delight
 In his halls and chambers out of sight;
 Sometimes his tinkling waters slipt
 Down through a frost-leaved forest-crypt,
 Long, sparkling aisles of steel-stemm'd trees,
 Bending to counterfeit a breeze;
 Sometimes the roof no fretwork knew
 But silvery mosses that downward grew;
 Sometimes it was carved in sharp relief,
 With quaint arabesques of ice-fern leaf;
 Sometimes it was simply smooth and clear,
 For the gladness of heaven to shine through, and here
 He had caught the nodding bulrush tops,
 And hung them thickly with diamond drops,
 Which crystall'd the beams of moon and sun,
 And made a star of every one:
 No mortal builder's most rare device
 Could match this winter-palace of ice;
 'Twas as if every image that mirror'd lay
 In his depths serene through the summer day,
 Each flitting shadow of earth and sky,
 Lest the happy model should be lost,
 Had been mimick'd in fairy masonry
 By the elfin builders of the frost."

The Poem is studded all over with gems. We must resist the temptation to illustrate our praise, or we shall find ourselves compressing the poem into our pages. We only indulge ourselves with one more picture. The camels in the desert are seen passing over the "red-hot sands,"—

"To where, in its slender necklace of grass,
 The little spring laugh'd and leapt in the shade,
 And with its own self like an infant play'd,
 And waved its signal of palms."

But, after all, it is not on its felicity of illustration, grace of metaphor, or picturesque description, that we rest the claims of this poem to the highest beauty; but on its elevated tone, and on the spiritual lesson it teaches. It is the beautiful lesson so often taught by our Saviour, and most affectingly when he said,—"*Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me.*" It is this spirit of universal love that hallows the humblest objects, and invests with beauty every child of God. We cannot but repeat the expression of our joy in the diffusion of works of poetry breathing so much of the Christian spirit over the land; bringing the enjoyment of such sacred beauty within the reach of all. The friend of humanity, as he looks over the list of our American authors, may well exclaim, "Blessings on the Poets!"

One single remark we feel compelled to add in regard to a sentiment in the poem. In an important sense it is true, that

"The holy Supper is kept indeed,
In whatso we share with another's need;"

for in every act of charity there is present somewhat of the spirit which hallowed that sacred scene. But we need not say that for us, the solemn, dying injunction of our Blessed Lord,—"*This do in remembrance of me,*"—fixes our minds upon something higher even than the exercise of brotherly love; and it is "in remembrance of Him" that we keep his Holy Supper, a perpetual memorial of his precious death until his coming again. The passage quoted affords an illustration of the unchurchly spirit to which we have before alluded, as characteristic of Mr. Lowell,—a spirit which deprives him, we are sure, not merely of religious, but of poetical, sympathy with the very highest feelings of Christian humanity.

ART. VII.—THE CONDITION OF THE DEAD.

No man can be indifferent to his own destiny. Whether our existence is limited by the bounds of human life, and, if not, in what state we are to be placed after death, are questions of profound concern. And we think the prevailing sentiment of the race in regard to these questions has leaned strongly toward the truth. Though the ancient heathen had not sufficient data upon which to base an enlightened theory, they cherished the idea of the soul's future existence with desire and hope, though not with a settled faith. Socrates, who was in advance of his predecessors, could say on the near approach of death, "I hope I am now going to good men, though this I would not take upon me peremptorily to assert; but that I shall go to the gods,—lords that are absolutely good,—this, if I can affirm anything of this kind, I would certainly affirm. And for this reason I do not take it ill that I am to die, as otherwise I should do; but I am in good hope that there is something remaining for those who are dead, and that it will then be much better for good than for bad men." Plato and other philosophers entertained and taught the same sentiments. Many, however, held the doctrine in less confidence, and corrupted it with various and contradictory speculations.

What was here faintly indicated, was more fully stated and established in the writings of Moses and the prophets. Hence the Jews

regarded the immortality of the soul as a fixed truth, of fundamental interest. It was a prevailing sentiment among them at the time of Christ; only the Sadducees denying it. But their conception of the doctrine lacked definiteness and precision. They saw it through a glass darkly, as they did many other truths. But when the "Desire of nations" appeared, the scales fell from the eyes of men, and immortality was brought to light. Nevertheless, it has not escaped the criticisms of infidelity, nor the speculations of philosophy. Nay, in common with other developments of Scripture which lie nearer the range of human comprehension, it has been attacked, denied, modified, and explained away, even by persons and parties claiming the Christian name. We have not room to go into the history and merits of all the various theories that have been offered; nor is it desirable. Our purpose is to consider a single principle, assumed by certain dissenters from the faith of the Church, namely, that *the soul dies with the body, and remains unconscious until the resurrection.*

Perhaps it may be well to say in the outset, that this is no new doctrine. In the third century an Arabian teacher, against whom Origen wrote, maintained that the soul dies and sleeps with the body, but is again raised with it at the last day. The same sentiment occasionally appeared afterwards. In the twelfth century Innocent III. condemned it; but in the sixteenth, it was again taught by Anabaptists and Socinians with much assurance. William Coward, a London physician, revived it in the seventeenth century, when it ran another race of considerable popularity. In all these cases it was so successfully resisted by the force of argument, that it was repudiated as a dangerous error. But its last defeat had hardly been forgotten, when some doctrinal adventurer proclaimed it to his friends as a discovery of his own; and thus it passed along from one to another, until it became the stamped feature of a party, and is now advocated with energy and show of argument worthy of a better sentiment. We propose, therefore, to take a brief review of the grounds of our faith, and of the claims of the veteran heresy so lately revived, for the benefit of any who may have been harassed with the catchwords and shrewd sophistry employed in the discussion.

The principal argument advanced from the Bible in favour of the death of the soul, and the one upon which others depend for their validity, is derived from these words:—"But of the tree of knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." This is said to be addressed to the "*whole man*;" and, therefore, it is inferred that the soul dies as well as the body. Nor is the inference destitute of plausibility.

With this explanation of the penalty of sin established, it is not difficult for the advocates of this theory to find Scriptures directly to their purpose. For example, Jacob said, "I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning." Now, understanding the pronoun "I" to embrace the whole man, in accordance with the foregoing construction of the Divine threatening, this passage is directly to the point. The same may be said of the declaration of the Psalmist, "The dead praise not the Lord, neither any that go down into silence." And, "The dead know not anything," is a favourite clause of the same class. But who does not see that they prove nothing until it is demonstrated that they refer to the *souls* of the persons concerned, as well as to their bodies? This is the point in dispute; yet, in all the arguments we have seen, it is assumed as a matter of course.

By considering some of the first references to man, it will be manifest that the terms by which Infinite Wisdom designated him did not embrace his entire composition. It is said, "The Lord God formed *man* of the dust of the ground." Here the term *man* refers to the body only; for it is added, "and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and *man* [this same being] became a living soul;" that is, he became inspired or animated by a living soul. That the term has a wider meaning in the threatened penalty may not therefore be true, and needs to be proved. But, if we may be allowed to prove a negative, it will be easy to show that the death threatened, so far as it involves dissolution of being, relates to the body only. The curse pronounced after the transgression was, no doubt, in strict accordance with the curse threatened, and may be taken as its explanation. Let us hear it. Unto Adam the Lord said, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground, for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." Now, who is this "*thou*," thus doomed to toil and death? There is no room for mistake. He can be no other than the man the Lord made "of the *dust* of the ground." The spirit did not come from the ground, and therefore cannot "*return*" to it. Nor is it dust. It is from another source, and of a different nature. The language is explicit, and would seem to have been employed with direct reference to the assumptions to which we object.

In significant accordance with this exposition, death has reigned until now, and the words of inspiration describing it are peculiarly pertinent. Thus Job says, "Now shall I sleep in the dust, and thou shalt seek me in the morning, but I shall not be." Here is direct reference to the curse, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return;" and hence the "*I*," the real sufferer, is no other than the man

which was formed of the dust, and destined to return to it. Again he says, "So man lieth down and riseth not; till the heavens be no more they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep." The Scriptures make frequent allusions of this kind to the body, but never speak of laying down the spirit in the dust. To construe this, and other language employed to mark the same event, to comprehend more than is embraced in the curse, as guarded and explained after the transgression, is contrary to every just principle of interpretation. All agree that temporal death is the result and fulfilment of that curse. Why extend the execution beyond the sentence? But there are many Scriptures which cannot be thus perverted on any pretence whatever. For instance, "Then shall the dust *return* to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." Could language declare the separation of the soul and body at death, or their respective destinations, more distinctly? Taken in connexion with Gen. iii, 19, to which we have before referred, this passage furnishes an infallible guide in the explanation of all other Scriptures relating to the same great change.

The representation of death as a state of sleep has been much relied on in this discussion in all ages. Our reply is, *first*, if death be what we have described it, no terms of designation can alter its nature or extent. That is, if it only relate to the body, as we have shown, calling it by other names does not extend its import. It is death still, and means no more than that the body returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit to God who gave it. Besides, sleep does not necessarily imply unconsciousness, and if allowed to relate to the soul, does not prove that it dies with the body. But our final remark, to adopt the language of Dr. Dick, is, "When the dead are said to be asleep, a metaphor is used, founded upon the striking resemblance between death and sleep, which is called by the poet, *mortis simillima imago*; and at the same time, in this as in other instances, by another trope, a part is spoken of as the whole. The dead are said to sleep, and be unconscious and inactive, because these things are true of their bodies. It is worthy of attention, that similar language has been adopted by other nations besides the Jews, and is in common use among us, although we believe, as well as they did, that souls are active in the invisible state. We should think that man reasoned very inconclusively, who, when he heard us saying of the dead, that they are ignorant of all that is passing on earth, should infer that we supposed either that their souls had died with their bodies, or that their faculties were dormant, and their consciousness was gone. Every man would perceive in this case the folly of making common language, founded as it evidently is upon

appearances, the standard of our philosophical or metaphysical opinions. It is equally improper to interpret thus the language of Scripture, which adopts on this occasion the style of common conversation, as it is acknowledged to do in speaking of the apparent motion of the sun around the earth."

The accommodated use of the term *soul* has also been pressed into the service of this strange hypothesis. Its primary meaning is well understood; but, like most other terms, it is frequently used in a qualified sense, to be ascertained by the context. Thus it is said, "Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they had gathered, and the *souls* that they had gotten in Haran; and they went forth to the land of Canaan." Here the word is used to denote their children. The Psalmist, speaking of the affliction of transgressors, says, "Their *soul* abhorreth all manner of meat;" meaning that their trouble was so excessive as to render food loathsome. "Deliver my *soul* from the sword," evidently refers to the body, the spirit not being susceptible of injury from that instrument. Many other applications of the term might be named where the sense is definite and unmistakable, but none where it necessarily implies the literal death of the soul. We will only mention one more. The Saviour admonished his disciples not to "fear them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear Him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." The term is used here in its primary sense, and can mean nothing but the spiritual, animating, immortal part of man. What is said of it is exactly in place here, namely, that men are not able to kill it, though they may kill the body. But this is not true if the soul dies with the body; for then, in killing the body, men kill the soul also.

It is argued, from certain indications of aversion to death on the part of ancient worthies, that they did not believe in the consciousness of the dead. That they possessed as clear views of the subject as have been enjoyed since their day, is not probable. But if those who employ their aversion to death as an argument against the immediate happiness of the righteous dead, will consider their own experience prior to their new discovery, and the present experience of the more pious, they will see its utter futility. The love of life is instinctive, and is much strengthened by its tender and endearing relations. The agonies of death are terrifying, and it is natural, therefore, to wish the conflict postponed, however bright the prospect beyond, particularly to those who enjoy health and prosperity. Besides, all good men have important ends they wish to accomplish before they die. It would be marvellous if in such circumstances

they did not desire to live. The ancients were men of like natures with ourselves. Let them not be misconstrued.

With these few glances at the arguments for the death of the soul, we propose a brief survey of the Scripture doctrine on the subject. All we know of the future is due to Divine revelation. No man is competent to testify in this case, having never been in circumstances to discover the truth. But God has seen fit to reveal so much, that it would seem difficult for us essentially to misapprehend our destiny. We fear the blunder arises from attempting to walk by sight rather than by faith. It is not easy to form an idea of the spirit's separate existence. Our ideas of thinking, acting, and feeling are all connected with the body. When we look at the body, after the spirit has left it, and see no signs of life, we do not make the proper distinction between that piece of earthly machinery and our friend who inhabited and used it. Because we have seen him in the body, and never saw him anywhere else, it is natural to suppose he must be there now, in a state of sleep or death, and quite unnatural to suppose him active and happy in an unembodied state. But we should never forget that the dulness of our apprehension does not alter the truth. Nor should we imagine for a moment, that it is any more difficult or wonderful for God to sustain and bless or curse human spirits out of the body than in it, though we cannot comprehend how it is done. We have never conceived yet how he sustains unembodied angels. He who created and preserves the one is equally able to sustain the other; and our ignorance of their particular mode of existence, or place of abode, should not be allowed to neutralize our faith in the disclosures of inspiration concerning them.

That the souls of men do not die with their bodies, is explicitly revealed: "Then shall the dust return to the earth *as it was*, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it;"—not "as it was before it was created," as certain *soul-sleepers* have added. This is a vain expedient to escape the force of the passage, and indicates its applicability to the case. "The spirit shall return to God who gave it." This is definite and direct. How dissimilar to the conceit of men, that it shall perish! But it is not more explicit than other Scriptures. When Jesus was expiring on the cross, he cried with a loud voice, and said, "Father, into thy hands I commend my *spirit*." What could he have meant, if his spirit was to die with his body, as we are told it did? Why not commend his body to his Father also? When Stephen was stoned, he called upon God, saying, "Lord Jesus, *receive my spirit*." He certainly had no idea that his soul was about entering upon the sleep of ages. If any presume to reply,

that *spirit*, in these cases, means *breath*, we pity them. What concern could they have had about the last breath of air they breathed? Air is air, whether breathed first or last, or not at all, and has no more to do with the spirit than earth or water.

The Hebraic designation of dying is in remarkable accordance with these petitions, namely, "he gave up the *ghost*;" which means no more nor less than *soul*. But what can such language import if the soul and body go to a common grave?

God said to Moses, "I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," though they had been dead many years. But when Christ was attacked by the Sadducees, who were the Materialists and "Soul-sleepers" of his day, he quoted this passage to confute them, adding, "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living;" which was virtually declaring that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were still alive, in a spiritual state. This silenced the Sadducees, and is entitled to respect from their successors.

The prayer of Simeon is not less appropriate. He was a just and devout man, and the Holy Ghost was upon him. Going into the temple, he found the child Jesus, for whose appearance he had been long waiting, and taking him up in his arms, he prayed, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." Did he prefer utter death to a life so honourable and happy? Incredible! He must have beheld a better country, even an heavenly. Had he desired to remain under circumstances so exhilarating, it would not have been surprising, however firmly he believed in the fruition of the spirits of "the just made perfect;" but, considering the felicity of his condition, his prayer evinces the strongest faith in, and the clearest perception of, that blessed state it is possible to conceive. The freezing thought of ceasing to think of God, and the ravishing truths of his word, for unnumbered ages, we think, never entered his pious mind.

The account given of the rich man and Lazarus places the subject in a still clearer light. Of Lazarus it is said, he "*died*, and was carried by angels into Abraham's bosom." Abraham testifies of him, in reply to the prayer of Dives, "Now he is comforted." The force of this declaration may be better seen from the whole sentence: "Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented." To pretend that this is a parable does not diminish its force. If, as we believe, it is an historical statement, it teaches us what has occurred to others, and leaves us to infer what may occur to ourselves. But if it be a para-

ble, it is only the similitude of a solemn reality. Parables were employed by Christ to illustrate the truth, and make it more forcible,—not to misrepresent and weaken it. If this statement be a parable, it is a faithful representation of the facts to which it relates, and proves beyond reasonable doubt that the souls of the pious enter immediately into active blessedness at death, and that the souls of the wicked are tormented in hell; and that there is to be no reversion of their condition. It cannot be made the representation of anything in this world, because the persons concerned are said to have died, and the world of spirits is clearly designated as the scene of the transaction described. Nor does it represent anything *beyond* the judgment; because, while the one was comforted and the other tormented, the rich man had five brethren alive on the earth, under the tuition of Moses and the prophets, and, therefore, eligible to salvation. We take this account, then, as the unequivocal testimony of Infinite Truth to the consciousness of the dead, and the diversity of their condition, according to their probationary deportment.

Whether Lazarus was one St. John saw in holy vision, is left to conjecture. But he declares, "I beheld, and lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands; and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb." "These," said one of the elders, "are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." Here we find persons from all nations, and tongues, and people, sanctified through the atonement, and in a glorified state, of whom it is said, "They are before the throne" of God, and shall "hunger no more, neither thirst any more." At another time, John "saw under the altar the *souls* of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held: and they cried, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them *that dwell on the earth*?" And it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled." If it be objected that this is a symbolical representation, we ask whether it symbolizes truth or falsehood, facts or fiction? If the former, then it is exactly to the point; for the persons it specifies belong to the human family, and yet are divided between this and the spirit world at the same time, and are equally in a conscious state. The assumption that it is prophetic, and not historical, does not detract from its force, allowing it to be true,

The order of God in this respect is one. If the souls of good men will live with Christ one thousand or ten thousand, years hence on their separation from the body, they do so now. But if they do not, and will not, till reunited with their respective bodies, John saw no beings, and heard no such language as he describes. If he did, no matter in connexion with what age of the world, then the souls of the pious do not die, nor do they sleep in unconsciousness. Subsequently, this distinguished saint heard a voice from heaven, saying, "Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them." "*From henceforth*, that is," says Dr. Clarke, "from this *time, now, immediately*. It was a maxim among the Jews, that as soon as the souls of the just departed from this life, they ascended immediately to heaven."

The appearance of Moses to Peter and others, furnishes another substantial proof of our faith. Says Matthew, "And behold there appeared unto them Moses and Elias, talking with him." Elias appeared, no doubt, in the same body that was translated. His appearance, therefore, has no bearing on the question. But this was not the case with Moses, who, according to the Scripture account, was buried "in the land of Moab." The advocates of the sleep of the soul attempt to avoid the argument drawn from this appearance, by presuming that the Lord raised him from the dead, but they give no proof. By a similar presumption, they might account for many other facts which stand opposed to their hypothesis. But mere presumption cannot be allowed in questions of this nature. We know that Moses died and was buried beyond the reach of human knowledge. And Jude informs us that Michael disputed with the devil about his body, but there is not the first hint given in the Scriptures that he was raised from the dead. Nor does it seem likely that God would thus distinguish one with whom he was wroth, and whom he forbid to enter the promised land; or at all probable, had he seen cause for doing so, that he would have kept it a profound secret.

The announcement of Christ to the thief on the cross is too definite to be invalidated by any sophistry that can be devised: "And Jesus said unto him, Verily, I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in *paradise*." It is impossible to make words express the immediate spiritual entrance of the dying thief into conscious communion with Christ, more closely than they do it here. And the force and adaptation of them to our object, cannot be better exhibited than by stating the attempts made to evade them. "*To-day*" is said not to mean this literal day, but some time within three days. The object of this perversion is to strengthen the *guess* that the thief

was one of the many saints that came out of their graves at the resurrection of Christ. So here we have another resurrection conjectured to meet the difficulty. If our fanciful Neologists are not careful, they will yet imagine that the resurrection is past. Such is the tendency of error. But they have not done with the passage. They alter the punctuation, thus: "I say unto thee to-day, shalt thou be with me in paradise." That is, I am speaking to thee to-day, and not yesterday or to-morrow. This needs no comment; nor does that other, which construes *to-day* to mean some two thousand years hence, at the day of judgment. Such expositions have been made, and they indicate the clearness with which immortality is revealed in the sacred records.

The statements of St. Paul are also decisive: "For me to live is Christ, and to die is *gain*." But this cannot be, if to die is to lose all conscious being. A life of pain even is better than no life. "The thoughts of the righteous are right, and they are precious unto him." What good man would not be pained at the idea of being blotted out of the universe? Is there one on earth who would account it "*gain*?" God's people are a happy people; they prize existence. Their willingness to leave the world does not arise from their having no pleasure in it. Certainly not. But they see a better country. The thought of going immediately to paradise is delightful to them, and they sympathize with the Apostle when he says, "I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better." Yes, "to depart and *be with Christ*." What could be more significant? To perish in the grave,—so as to be utterly extinct,—would not be "far better." It would be preferable to the abiding wrath of God, but would stand next in the list of evils to which men are supposed to be liable.

In another place he says, "We are always confident, knowing that, whilst we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord: (for we walk by faith, not by sight:) we are confident, I say, and willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be *present with the Lord*." This explains why he considered death to be gain.

On this passage Dr. Clarke remarks: "We see plainly that the apostle gives no intimation of an intermediate state between being at home in the body, and being present with the Lord. There is not the slightest intimation here that the soul sleeps, or, rather, that there is no soul; and when the body is decomposed, that there is no more of the man till the resurrection. I mean according to the sentiments of those who do condescend to allow us a resurrection, though they deny us a soul. But this is a philosophy in which St. Paul got no

lessons, either from Gamaliel, Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, or in the third heavens, where he heard even unutterable things."

Again says the same Apostle: "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have [not, shall have at the resurrection] a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." We know there is provision made in heaven for souls after their present dwelling is taken down. An eminent writer explains the text thus:—"The Apostle also alludes to the ancient Jewish tabernacle, which, on all removals of the congregation, was dissolved, and taken in pieces; and the ark of the covenant, covered with its own curtains, was carried by itself, and when they came to the place of rest, then the dissolved parts of the tabernacle were put together again as before. When we consider this simile, in connexion with the doctrine of the resurrection, we shall see that he intends to convey the following meaning: that as the tabernacle was taken down in order to be again put together, so the body is to be dissolved in order to be re-edified; that as the ark of the covenant subsisted by itself, while the tabernacle was down, so can the soul when separated from the body; that as the ark had then its own veil for its covering, so the soul is to have some vehicle in which it shall subsist till it receives its body at the resurrection."

But it is vain to multiply proof-texts. If what have been suggested are not sufficient, we despair of proving anything by the word of God. Those who will not believe a sentiment thus established by the concurrent testimony of prophets and apostles, and even of Jesus Christ himself, are just suited to believe, without a particle of evidence, that Moses and the thief were raised from the dead, the annihilation of the wicked, or any other oddity which may flatter their ambition or conceit. We will therefore only add, that the sentiment of the Church finds singular confirmation in the entire absence of any allusion to the resurrection of the soul. It is a remarkable fact, that there is not an intimation of such a phenomenon within the lids of inspired truth. So that if the soul dies with the body, infidel France was right in declaring death to be an eternal sleep. But the body is mentioned repeatedly as the subject of resurrection. Says St. Paul, "If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your *mortal bodies* by his Spirit that dwelleth in you." In the same chapter it is added, "We groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our *bodies*." In another letter he answers the question, "With what bodies do they come?" by declaring, "God giveth them a body as it pleaseth him:" but not a word is said about raising the soul from

the dead, which seems quite irreconcilable with the doctrine we oppose.

The theory under consideration is one of peculiar danger, not only on account of its striking hostility to the plain declarations of Scripture, and its detraction from the principal motives to piety, but for other tendencies to which it is justly chargeable. It rests on a false principle of exegesis, which, if generally applied, would unsettle the foundation of the whole fabric of Christian theology. This accounts for the fact, that those who embrace it become equally heretical on other points. Though they may appear to retain evangelical views, closer examination will show that they hold them in a new aspect, and with qualifications which destroy their vitality, and in effect discredit their truth. The literalism of interpretation necessary to an appearance of proof, generally leads to false notions of future punishment. Hence it is that those who believe in the sleep of the soul, hold with equal confidence to the annihilation of the wicked, and to kindred sentiments little better than infidelity itself. Were it proper, startling facts might be adduced, but we forbear.

Its danger is further indicated in its truckling to the vain philosophy of this world. Christianity is purely a matter of revelation. Its great principles depend on the word of God for their support. However useful philosophy may be within its legitimate province, it is blind here. The fact that it does not see the truth, or that the truth blasts its idle pretensions, does not invalidate the teachings of revelation. Any system, therefore, which follows its flickering glimmer, in opposition to the clear announcements of the Bible, is to be suspected. Let God be true, though human philosophy sink to oblivion. Religious truth never interferes with philosophy, while philosophy keeps within proper limits. Our objection to invoking its aid, in a matter of this nature, is not to its being employed in confirmation of revelation, so far as it goes,—though this, however useful in some cases, is like lighting a taper to see the sun,—but to introducing it as a witness against revelation, where it has no suitable means of knowing.

That we do not mistake the character of this system, is evident from the alliances it forms. It is a trite proverb, that men are known by the company they keep. It is not less true of theological opinions. Their friends and patrons are drawn to each other by a sort of elective affinity, which strongly suggests the moral genus, at least, to which they belong. Now, if any will take the pains to try the theory in question by this rule, he will see cause of suspicion. For it is a fact fully demonstrable by its history, that it is regarded

with special favour by those to whom the cross of Christ gives particular offence. Those, for example, who deny any future existence, and discard all real religion, rejoice to meet their friends (the Sleepers) half way, and congratulate them on their progress. Other latitudinarians, the very enemies of Christ, mingle in the joy, and are glad to see their neighbours "getting out of the leading-strings of the Church," and thinking for themselves. Such praise wears a suspicious appearance. We commend the fact to the consideration of those whom it especially concerns.

ART. VIII.—LIVING AUTHORS OF ENGLAND.

The Living Authors of England. By THOMAS POWELL. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1849.

THE department of literary criticism is one of the most difficult paths of human labour. It is, indeed, as Sir Thomas Browne calls goodness, a "funambulatory track." The bridge Al Sirat, more slender than a hair, and sharper than the edge of a sword, affords a not more insecure footing. And as the souls of the faithful would never be able to pass that bridge without angelic assistance, so no man living should attempt criticism who is not sure of being waited on by the heaven-descended virtues of charity and modesty. If he does, he will be sure to fail; and there are none the world respects less than those who fail in commenting on the failures of others.

An author who makes contemporary authors his theme, places himself in the delicate position of using for himself only what they can spare without loss. He has no right to make them subjects for dissection while they are yet alive. He cannot be *of* them, and live *upon* them; just so far as he does so, he renounces the dignity of authorship, and takes an inferior grade. He becomes what Charles Lamb might denominate, "the lesser flea that lives upon other fleas." For he is presumed to know the hardships of literature, the labour of invention, the inconvenience of a reputation for wit, or other intellectual qualities, the poor reward—all that makes the profession of letters one in which success is most rarely achieved; and when it is achieved, consisting only in the world's expectation of newer labours still to be undertaken. All this he must be presumed to know.

There is a passage in Carlyle's "Life of Schiller," which, in this connexion, will serve as a preparative to the remarks we intend to

make upon the "Living Authors of England." It is written in the author's first and best style, and is worth remembering, not only for its truth, but as a fine piece of impassioned declamation:—

"If to know wisdom were to practise it; if fame brought true dignity and peace of mind; or if happiness consisted in nourishing the intellect with its appropriate food, and surrounding the imagination with ideal beauty, a literary life would be the most enviable which the lot of this world affords. But the truth is far otherwise. The man of letters has no inscrutable, all-conquering volition, more than other men; to understand and to perform, are two very different things with him, as with every one. His fame rarely exerts a favourable influence on his dignity of character, and never on his peace of mind: its glitter is external, for the eyes of others; within, it is but the aliment of unrest, the oil cast upon the ever-gnawing fire of ambition, quickening into fresh vehemence the blaze which it stills for a moment. Moreover, this man of letters is not wholly made of spirit, but of clay and spirit mixed: his thinking faculties may be nobly trained and exercised, but he must have affections as well as thoughts to make him happy, and food and raiment must be given him, or he dies. Far from being the most enviable, his way of life is, perhaps, among the many modes by which an ardent mind endeavours to express its activity, the most thickly beset with suffering and degradation. Look at the biography of authors! Except the Newgate Calendar, it is the most sickening chapter in the history of man. The calamities of these people are a fertile topic; and too often their faults and vices have kept pace with their calamities. Nor is it difficult to see how this has happened. Talent of any sort is generally accompanied with a peculiar fineness of sensibility; of genius this is the most essential constituent; and life, in any shape, has sorrows enough for hearts so formed. The employments of literature sharpen this natural tendency; the vexations that accompany them frequently exasperate it into morbid soreness. The cares and toils of literature are the business of life; its delights are too ethereal and too transient to furnish that perennial flow of satisfaction, coarse, but plenteous and substantial, of which happiness in this world of ours is made. The most finished efforts of the mind give it little pleasure, frequently they give it pain; for men's aims are ever far beyond their strength. And the outward recompense of these undertakings, the distinction they confer, is of still smaller value: the desire for it is insatiable, even when successful; and when baffled, it issues in jealousy and envy, and every pitiful and painful feeling. So keen a temperament, with so little to restrain or satisfy, so much to distress or tempt it, produces contradictions which few are adequate to reconcile. Hence the unhappiness of literary men. Hence their faults and follies.

"Thus literature is apt to form a dangerous and discontenting occupation, even for the amateur. But for him whose rank and worldly comforts depend upon it, who does not live to write, but writes to live, its difficulties and perils are fearfully increased. Few spectacles are more afflicting than that of such a man; so gifted and so fated; so jostled and tossed to and fro in the rude bustle of life, the buffetings of which he is so little fitted to endure. Cherishing, it may be, the loftiest thoughts, and clogged with the meanest wants; of pure and holy purposes, yet ever driven from the straight path by the pressure of necessity, or the impulse of passion; thirsting for glory, and frequently in want of daily bread; hovering between the empyrean of his fancy and the squalid desert of reality; cramped and foiled in his most strenuous exertions; dissatisfied with his best performances, disgusted with his fortune, this man of letters too often spends his weary days in conflicts with obscure misery: harassed, chagrined, debased, or maddened; the victim at once of tragedy and farce; the last forlorn outpost in the war of mind against matter. Many are

the noble souls that have perished bitterly, with their tasks unfinished, under these corroding woes! Some in utter famine, like Otway; some in dark insanity, like Cowper and Collins; some, like Chatterton, have sought out a more stern quietus, and turning their indignant steps away from a world which refused them welcome, have taken refuge in that strong fortress, where poverty and cold neglect, and the thousand natural shocks which flesh is heir to, could not reach them any more."

We have quoted this passage at length, for the purpose of contrasting the spirit in which it is written with that which is manifested in the "Living Authors," &c. This volume contains notices of upwards of thirty writers, all but a few of whom are little known here, and of several of whom we now hear for the first time—three hundred pages of critical remark, amusing anecdote, and personal gossip. The criticism is merely a reckless scattering of opinions, sometimes just, often contradictory, but based on no principles, and leaving no clear impression. The anecdotes have mostly been quoted in the daily papers; they are amusing, but evidently mere stories.

If our remarks at the outset be correct, it is sufficient to estimate a work of this kind by the *spirit* in which it is undertaken—its moral character. We shall confine ourselves, therefore, to that.

The introduction includes brief notices of several of the elder writers who "belong more properly to the last generation;" Wordsworth, Leigh Hunt, Proctor, Moore, Landor, and Rogers. From what relates to Wordsworth, we extract the following:—

"In person he is tall and largely framed; his eyes have a peculiarly thoughtful expression—they seem the seat of contemplation, not of observation; and being deeply set in his head, give to the whole contour of his face a physical expression admirably in keeping with his idiosyncrasy. The finest likeness of him is a three-quarter portrait by one of the most gifted of modern artists, Margaret Gillies. This represents him in his parlour at Rydal Mount, with the beautiful lake scenery in the distance, seen through the window; an open book is before him. He is looking up at some one to whom he is explaining a passage in the volume, which, it is almost unnecessary to add, is his own poems.

"In private life he is an example to all men, obliging, charitable, and courteous; he is always happy to see any visitors whom the fame of his genius inclines to call on him, and shows his garden and grounds with the gusto of a connoisseur, and the affection of a parent. Every tree has a living interest in his eye, and he is on speaking terms with every natural object in the country. Hills, woods, and waterfalls, are his companions, and he resents an indignity offered to them with as much energy as though they were of his own household. He visits London, generally, every other year, where he remains for three or four months, one of the most venerable of lions. We regret to add, that his health has lately been very much impaired, and aggravated by the death of his only daughter, Mrs. Quillinan, who died of consumption.

"Owing to his careful husbandry of a small patrimony, and his frugal habits, he has a moderate competency. Till four years since he was a dis-

tributor of stamps, which office he resigned in favour of his son, upon his own appointment to the Laureateship."—Pp. 28, 29.

"Accustomed to live secluded from the world—coddled up by a few old and withered spinsters—the poetical mind of this fine writer has become narrowed, till it has lost most of that vigorous and embracing universality, and scorn of conventionalism, which made him in his inspired moments utter—

" We must be free or die,
Who speak the language Shakspeare spoke—the *faith*
And morals hold that Milton held—" P. 30.

Setting aside the manifest wrong done the poet in misquoting the lines,—

" Must we be free or die, who speak the tongue
Which Shakspeare spake ; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held. In everything we are sprung
Of earth's best blood :—have titles manifold !"—

setting aside, we say, the question whether a critic has a right not only to alter lines and words, but also to italicise words for no apparent reason—even admitting the truth of what is here said respecting the man who stands at the head of our living poets, both by rank and age, (he being now fourscore years old,)—we must regret the necessity which could impel any man to write these sentences. There are two sorts of necessities—one arising from without, the other from within. In this case we can conceive of no pressure from without which could urge a writer, animated by the sympathy for men of letters which inspired Carlyle, in the extract given above, and, indeed, throughout his eloquent biography of Schiller—to write so flippantly of a great poet's declining years.

And yet this writer bears no malice in his heart against the poet, of whom and whose family circle he speaks so very freely and decidedly. On the contrary, he professes to venerate him exceedingly ; and in another place, where he gives another description of him, in the more picturesque style, actually leaves it to be inferred that he has written a sonnet upon the poet's portrait :—

" Seated on the sofa, with one leg crossed over the other, and with his hand buried in his bosom, sits an old man, with a few straggling gray hairs on his forehead, dressed in tolerably well-worn black, his deep-set eye, gray and abstracted, as though in some speculation lost ! he rises, his figure is tall, broad, and gaunt, his deep guttural voice seems to come from the depths of his heart, and the impressive tone he speaks in gives an emphasis even to the commonest of commonplace ; he is reciting a passage from Milton ; he has got the first edition in his hand, and is demonstrating to an attentive listener that the 'blind old man' intended an emphasis to be laid on every word beginning with a capital, excepting at the commencement of each line ; he slightly stoops, but it is a trifle for so old a man, and his venerable face seems to light

up at the sound of Milton's verse, and to bring back with them all the dreams of his youth, when, wandering with Coleridge, Southey, and Lamb, they held high converse with the mighty dead.

"We have only seen one portrait of the fine old poet that at all gives any idea of him; a friend of his was so pleased with it that he sent the artist a sonnet, which we must find space to quote:—

"We die, and pass away; our very name
Goes into silence, as the eloquent air
Scatters our voices, while the wear'd frame,
Shrouded in darkness, pays the grave's stern claim,
With the blank eyes deep fix'd in death's blind stare.
These sure were thoughts to plunge us in despair,
But that the artist and the sculptor came—
Then living music flows from buried lips,
And the dead form throws off the grave's eclipse!
O! blest magician, that can fix for aye
The fleeting image; here I seem to gaze
On Wordsworth's honour'd face, for in the cells
Of those gray eyes, Thought, like a prophet, dwells,
And round those drooping lips Song like a murmur strays."—Pp. 240, 241.

We can reconcile these contradictions only by supposing a simple want of perception in the writer, of that respect with which individuals, bred in gentle society, instinctively regard the feelings of others, and especially of those who are exalted by age, genius, and character.

The paragraph upon Rogers is another example of similar wilful or unconscious departure from the manners of that class of society for whom poets write:—

"It was told me by a friend of the bard, the beau, the banker, that the poet's uncle adopted him and his brother, and took them into his banking-house. After some time he detected the elder one in writing verses: the horror-struck merchant, when he died, allowed the detected verse-maker a certain annuity, leaving the business and the bulk of his fortune to Samuel, with the remark that he would never be a poet. We are entirely of the uncle's opinion, and boldly avow our belief that no spiteful nature can, by any process of sublimation, be raised into the poet; Mr. Rogers, therefore, must be content to stand or fall by his own nature—he has the reputation of being a great wit, and of having made some of the severest of modern jokes."—P. 34.

The want of perception above mentioned is here so marked, as to leave an impression upon the reader precisely opposite to what was apparently intended. Again we have Dickens thus "summed up:—

"To sum up his capabilities in a few words: as a man, he is good-tempered, vain, fickle, which makes him at times appear to be insincere; on the other hand, it must in justice be stated, that he forgets with kindly facility an offence; but the impression on the minds of those who have known him longest is,

that he is deficient in all those striking qualities of the heart which sanctify the memory of man."—P. 177.

And yet there is no consciousness of impropriety manifest in the sketch; a simple attempt at impartial analysis, that is all.

We take another instance from the writer's attempt to sketch Talfourd:—

"The learned sergeant is jovial and hospitable, and has the reputation of having been the liberal friend of many necessitous men of genius. We give this as we heard it from his own family, but we regret to add that we have been informed by others, that the author of *Ion* has the peculiarity of forgetting his friends when they are in poor circumstances. We may mention as an instance, the case of the author of *Rimini*. He has, however, many excuses, he has felt himself the privations of poverty—has a large family—lives expensively, and is fond of luxurious dinners. He gives excellent parties, and at his table we have spent some pleasant hours, and met many illustrious men of letters."

This is Mr. Powell's way of requiting people who allow him the opportunity of meeting "illustrious men," and "spending pleasant hours" at their houses.

There are many more quite as striking instances as these in the volume—one which is too mean to be quoted. We feel confident that we have given enough to justify a decision against the work on account of its character—its want of manners—want of that which is want of sense.

And we further wish to render it clear to our readers, why we have deemed it necessary to write at all respecting a work of which we are forced to judge so unfavourably. Since its publication, Mr. Dickens, either provoked by Mr. Powell's account of himself, or, as his *non*-admirers in this country understand it, glad of an opportunity for a sneer at the American press, has thought it necessary, through a friend here, (Mr. Clark, of the *Knickerbocker Magazine*,) to caution our public against the author of this volume, in language by no means equivocal. Whether he was right in so doing, or whether the terms of his letter might not have been more dignified, we need not now decide; but we confess that his severity of language does not surprise us much, after reading Mr. Powell's volume.

Now this is a free country, open to all comers, and where all writers have equal rights. But is it a place to which London writers, between whom and one of the first of their own class, hitherto deemed respectable, there would appear to be still open a serious question of veracity, can come and raise themselves, *per saltum*, to the same rank they might occupy in our esteem if no such question existed? and that by the publication of books which

must be condemned on their own merits, and for the spirit in which they are written? We apprehend, most decidedly, not.

Charity begins at home. There are plenty of writers among us of more power to interest readers, and *gentle* readers, than the author of this volume, and who are known to our best writers, not from having written flippantly of them, but for the resolution with which they have always, through the lowest employments of literature, and against the heart-sickness of hope deferred, endeavoured to preserve their own self-respect and the esteem of others. It seems to us very plain that, at least, there is no discriminating charity in taking by the hand and encouraging to success in letters those whose performances give no high promise, while so many such as these are hardly able to earn their daily bread.

The true charity would lead us to a precisely opposite course, and it may not only justify, but require severe impartial criticism, and terms of condemnation as decided as those we have here used. Had the work not proceeded from one of the most respectable publishing houses in the country, and were it not likely, from its very title, and the nature of its topics, to be widely circulated, it would not have been necessary to notice it. As it is, it has been treated leniently in this article.

ART. IX.—EGYPT AND ITS MONUMENTS.

The Monuments of Egypt: or, Egypt a Witness for the Bible. By FRANCIS L. HAWKS, D.D., LL.D. New-York: G. P. Putnam. 8vo., pp. 256. 1850.

A BOOK on ancient Egypt is eminently needed, as well by the scientific as the "reading" public. The production required should not be a compilation exactly. It should be rather a *digest* of the facts known, together with an explanatory commentary; in short, an orderly arrangement of the aggregate results of exploration, with a history of the explorations themselves. A mere compilation, where the materials are so immense, would be cumbrous if complete, and if imperfect, would be useless or worse. It might be convenient, yet only, at best, in a mechanical way.

But the convenience chiefly requisite is of a different, an intellectual nature. Materials so copious, so various, so peculiar, call for arrangement, for co-ordination upon some self-consistent and intelligible principles. We do not mean that old theories, whether

philosophical or Biblical, should be recklessly reiterated, or new ones devised without preparation. The preparatory process known in natural science as a catalogue *descriptive* and *comparative* would suffice for the present. This would perhaps properly confine itself to collecting and collating the *facts*, the monuments of all descriptions, together with the most authoritative *opinions* respecting their appropriate characters, destinations, and developments. The whole would be interspersed advantageously, if only for popular use, with a running commentary or criticism, suggesting the various analogies between the successive specimens of the same art, between contemporaneous forms of the different arts, and, in fine, between the several artistic and industrial phases, the monuments and the manners, of Egyptian life.

We may illustrate by an example. Compare the two most conspicuous of these arts, namely, Writing and Architecture, in their primary stages,—the former of Picture-writing, the latter of the Pyramids. The Picture-writing, which denotes the object by its simple image, is manifestly the rudest, the most *material* mode of representation. So the pyramid is the most obvious in shape, and the most merely *masonic* in style, of all the species of structure, not only Egyptian, but imaginable. The erections of children are always pyramidal. Now this comparative observation would of itself, apart from historical evidence, tend to show that the two forms must have emanated from one and the same condition of the national mind. It would do much more and better than this. In the first place, it would demonstrate that this mental state was one of extreme and imbecile infancy. And, in the next place, it would furnish, in these three correlative starting-points, at once the *cause* of the progression which the facts exhibit in all the monuments, and the *key* to its interpretation in the two descriptions in question.

Having established these fundamental standards, such a synopsis as we have in view would easily indicate the historical order of the respective series. Meanwhile, it would expose and exclude a thousand puerile controversies still agitated by even the latest writers: such, for instance, as whether the symbolical was not anterior to the picture form of Hieroglyphics. That is, whether the human mind does not proceed from the abstract to the concrete, instead of the well-known reverse. Indeed, this preposterous error was carried still further. Even the Enchorial or alphabetic form was supposed to be the earliest, until the error was dispelled by the discoveries of Champollion, who, remarkable to say, at first inclined to this opinion himself. But the error, though nearly routed in regard to the art of writing, remains rampant in respect to most

other of the monumental series, and to the civilization generally of ancient Egypt. Egyptian wisdom, Egyptian art, Egyptian science (!) even, continue to be descanted upon, in mystical raptures, by philological pedants; who, if they knew how to be consistent, would either admit the orang-outang, in virtue of its figure, to a place in the human family, or recognize the polity of an ant-hill, and the geometry of a bee-hive, as respectively the highest models of civilization and of science: for the earlier arts of the Egyptians, while much less ingenious, were little more intellectual, in any proper sense of the term.

Supposing, then, the two parallels of synchronism thus slightly indicated to be drawn out through the whole mass of monuments in the two classes referred to, the other forms of art and life would now spontaneously class themselves in corresponding array. Thus an additional, and still more searching light would be directed across the chaos. The several series in their relative bearings would form reciprocal guarantees for the correctness of each, and guardians against error in any. With such a conception of the subject, no wild speculations, such as the notable one respecting the Zodiac of Dendera,* would be possible. A glance at the state of any of the arts or productions of a long posterior period, would satisfy that the Egyptian mind must, in the extreme antiquity attributed to this curious piece of workmanship, have been utterly incapable of even its geometrical combination, perhaps of its mechanical execution; to say nothing of the astronomical proficiency which it implied. In a word, by this double line of procedure, these invaluable records of early humanity might be put into a shape fit for the investigations of science: for science has hardly yet commenced in the subject of "Egyptology." Thus arranged, they would also be both attractive and useful to the popular mind, which soon tires of the miraculous when it is without *meaning*—nay, which tires of the wonderful just in proportion as it is monstrous. For the mass of mankind are so thoroughly of the celebrated sentiment of Terence,† that they hold it to be true conversely, and deem *all* things to be foreign which do not concern humanity.

Some such task as we have been attempting to sketch seems to have been contemplated by Bunsen,—if we understand the prolix

* When this zodiac was discovered it was thought that the temple on whose ceiling it was sculptured was so ancient as to explode the Scriptural chronology at once. M. Jomard made it three thousand years old; M. Dupuis, four thousand; M. Gori, seventeen thousand! But lo! when Champollion learned to *read* it, he found inscribed the name of *Augustus Cæsar*!

† Nihil humani a me alienum puto.

programme of his "Egypt's Place in the World's History." The idea is undoubtedly a philosophical one; but we cannot help thinking that the execution will, like the idea, be drowned in the author's plan. Like a true German, Bunsen seems determined to discourse *de cunctis rebus*, if not indeed, occasionally, *de quibusdam aliis*. But, whatever may be the value of his bulky tomes when completed, they will not afford a precise, perspicuous synopsis of the whole subject, such as seems to be requisite for this country especially.

It was with no ordinary interest, therefore, that we first heard the announcement of the work placed at the head of this article. Both the promising title, and the name of the author, gave us hope of a work that would, to some extent at least, realize our idea of a work on "Egypt and its Monuments." When we say that we find ourselves somewhat disappointed, our readers may, perhaps justly, lay the fault to our expectations. They may have been over or under the proper exigences of the subject or of the times,—or, perhaps, entirely wide of both. It was in order that our expression of disappointment might not be misinterpreted to the disparagement of the book, that we have detained the reader so long with our own view of the task, before giving him some account of Dr. Hawks' conception of it. He sets it forth in his Introduction as follows:—

"On such a subject as this book presents, to have attempted originality, would unavoidably have been to commit error; for its simple object was to collect into a plain and comprehensible compend, the results of the research of many different inquirers in the field of Egyptian archæology."—P. 13.

And on this view of the case, he disclaims, with a becoming modesty, the title of "author," pretending only, as he expresses it, "to the humble office of a *compiler*." But even a compilation, consulting the researches of the leading inquirers, and collecting their results, would go far towards fulfilling the scheme above suggested. At all events, the basis would be properly laid in the collection of facts: and there would be wanting but the *rationale*,—which, to be sure, is the part of Hamlet in this monumental drama. The idea of Dr. Hawks, then, as suggested in the Introduction, (for it will be seen that he afterwards recedes from it, apparently at least,) is quite appropriate as far as it goes. Nor does it by any means preclude, as he appears to think, the possibility of originality. It is precisely here, indeed,—in developing new views or ideas, not in recovering pre-existing facts or monuments,—that originality is, strictly speaking, attainable at all. And we think much too well

of Dr. Hawks to believe that the attempt, if made in this instance, must have led to "unavoidable error."

But Dr. Hawks seems afterwards, as we have intimated, to recede somewhat from the design which he had previously laid down. In the opening chapter his aim is re-stated, with what the lawyers call a "material variance:"—

"The object of the present volume, therefore, is neither to afford a connected history of Egypt, nor to furnish the reader with a satisfactory explanation of every inscription or representation on the walls of its venerable ruins. Its less ambitious, and it is hoped not less useful aim, is to bring forward, in an intelligible form, certain *facts* that appear to be well attested, and thus to afford to the reader the means of judging for himself how far they furnish illustration of, or give direct confirmation to, the truth of events recorded in the Scriptures."—P. 19.

In the latter sentence the character and contents of the book are exactly defined. Let it be judged, then, for what it is, and for what it accomplishes.

The first "fact" adverted to, is the antiquity of the *art of writing* in Egypt.

"Of the very great antiquity of writing among the Egyptians, and of their consequent early possession of books, little doubt seems now to be entertained among the learned. The inkstand and the stylus are found on monuments which carry us back to a period anterior, as is supposed, to the time of which we have any recorded history. But on this subject we are not left to a mere inference from monumental remains. The earliest writings of the Egyptians are believed to have been contained in their sacred books. For our knowledge of these writings we are indebted chiefly, and indeed almost entirely, to Clemens of Alexandria. He is entitled to belief, as having been a resident in Egypt, if not a native, eminently learned, and of unimpeachable Christian character. His life terminated between the years of our Lord 200 and 220; and he states that in his time the Egyptians had forty-two sacred books. These books were divided into several classes; one, for instance, was on medicine; another on astronomy; a third was on the hieroglyphical art, and consequently taught the rudiments of Egyptian writing; a fourth class was devoted to religious worship, while another comprised the sacerdotal books, and bore the general name of Hieratic writings. These last, as Clement states, treated of 'the Laws, the Deities, and the entire education of the Priests.'

"The only portion of these writings of which the moderns are as yet possessed, is in what Champollion called the 'Ritual,' and Lepsius named 'The Book of the Dead.' It was originally found in the tombs of the kings at Thebes, in the form of a hieroglyphical papyrus. Its pictorial ornaments showed that it treated of ceremonies in honour of the dead, and the transmigration of souls. Afterward, Champollion found a much more perfect copy in the museum of Turin: this has been published by Lepsius, with the remark that 'this book furnishes the only example of a great Egyptian literary work, transmitted from the old Pharaonic times.' It possesses one peculiarity that is significant of its great antiquity; it is written in the pure monumental hieroglyphic character, while in all the other extant remains of Egyptian literature, the hieratic character is employed. This difference is important in other aspects, to which we advert not here, as the object now is simply to illustrate the fact of the great antiquity of the art of writing in Egypt."—Pp. 19–21.

Dr. Hawks seems here to imply that the *Sacred Books* afford proof more conclusive than "mere inference from monumental remains." But how is the existence of these books to be assigned positively to any limit of antiquity anterior, or even equal, to that of the monumental "inkstand?" The popular tradition of their delivery by Thot, several thousand years before Menes, will hardly do it. It was to this end, apparently, that Dr. Hawks introduces the celebrated papyrus scroll found in a tomb, of probably the twelfth dynasty, at Thebes, and after in a more perfect copy in the Museum of Turin. The proof of its extreme antiquity is placed by Dr. Hawks, in the fact that it employs the pure monumental hieroglyphic character, and not the hieratic. But the monuments themselves present, we believe, no inscriptions of a period earlier than the appearance of the writing implements: the elder pyramids have, or had originally, none. And then there must have been a long interval between the hieroglyphics on the monuments, and the transcription of them upon papyrus, which is the point of the argument. It is true that the existing manuscripts are mostly written in a form of hieroglyphic, undoubtedly later than the monumental, and named the *Hieratic*. But this would evidently avail nothing, except it could be shown, which it cannot, of some papyri of the latter description, that they approximate at least to the period of the inkstand. More especially so, when, on the other hand, the primitive hieroglyphic was employed occasionally down to the decline of the Lower Empire. The Theban or Turin papyrus, then, does not add, or even approach, at least through the form of the writing, to the attestation already furnished by the implements of the art themselves. The utmost it does, in this respect, is to allow the evidence to slide back to any point of antiquity which might be indicated by the *subject* of the scroll.

But the doctrines contained in this scroll prove, it seems to us, still less to the purpose. The subject is held, on all hands, to relate principally to the transmigration of souls. By Champollion, the discoverer of the Turin copy, and the first decipherer, the ceremonies were deemed of a liturgical character, and he accordingly named this papyrus roll a *Ritual*. Dr. Lepsius, on closer examination, thought the contents rather a description of the peregrinations, real or imaginary, of the soul after death, and preferred the designation of "*Book of the Dead*." May we, too, not be excused a passing conjecture, in a matter where the highest doctors thus differ, and where there remains, in fact, so large a verge for disagreement?—for it is admitted that not a single paragraph or section of the celebrated record has as yet been interpreted completely. May not the

ceremonies, then, be rather of a symbolical and semi-dramatic character and purport, like the "Mysteries" of classic paganism; which are known, in fact, to have had their origin in Egypt? The scenes, so far as ascertained by either Champollion or Lepsius, seem to coincide essentially with what we know of the Græco-Roman mysteries; and more particularly still, with the Egyptian mysteries of Isis, as unveiled to us by Jamblichus, Plutarch, and Apuleius. Nor is there any authority, we believe, for supposing that the rule of secrecy was, at least in earlier times, so rigorous in Egypt, as to forbid their commitment to writing. Reason would suggest, on the contrary, that this policy could only prevail when the secret had been imported; or rather, when it became necessary, through the progress of popular intelligence, to surround proportionally with mystery and terror the doctrines of a declining faith. But no exigence of this nature could have been experienced, even to the last, under the indigenous growth of the mysteries, and the imbecile credulity of the mind of Egypt. Another feature of probability is, that this conjecture would reconcile the subject to the character of "ritual" assigned it by Champollion, whose broadly philosophical sagacity should never be slightly rated: for the priests were the performers in those "mystic rites." The view in question would also explain and exclude certain notions which we must consider fantastic, or at least German, in the Lepsiian interpretation. For instance, the human figure, which is depicted as following the procession of the corpse, and naturally deemed by Champollion to be a clerical personage, is pretended by Lepsius to be the soul itself, offering up prayers and invocations (which are given in the text) for . . . whom or what, shall we say? The coffin, or the corpse? For the soul should know that they were now as impertinent in reference to the one as the other of those material objects. Be this as it may, the main idea of transmigration is a conception relatively late in the development of a people; much later in Egypt than probably the pyramids, which were designed, on the contrary, to preserve the *same* body for an expected resurrection after three thousand years. And if the construction we have hazarded be well founded, the presumption of antiquity dependent on the *subject* of the papyrus, would be brought down to a period much lower still: for the metempsychosis must have existed in doctrine long before it was represented in action. The conclusion is, that the record in question falls still further short in its subject than in the character of the writing, of being as early a witness to the antiquity of the art as the inkstand and stylus of the monuments.

Again, as our author seems to suppose the Theban scroll to prove much more than it could, so, on the other hand, he allows

the writing implements to pass for much less. In fact, the existence of the stylus and inkstand presupposes the prevalence, probably for a long period, of the hieroglyphic character. For they are not things contemporary; they do not stand in the relation of cause and effect, as the author's statement seems to imply. They are, on the contrary, *successive* developments of the art. Indeed, the several intervening steps can perhaps be traced. The hieroglyphic proper was an *engraving*, as the name imports; it had originally no use of pen, ink, or papyrus. The carving was next coloured, to give the objects distinctness. So true is this, that it gave its still visible origin to the art of painting, as well as of writing, in Egypt; as it must have done, indeed, in every other country where these arts have been indigenous. In the recent excavations of Nineveh the pictures exhibit the same counter-sinking in the wall, and even the sculptures the same traces of paint as are found in the tombs and temples of Thebes. At this stage the graven images were coloured diversely, in direct imitation of the objects to be represented. In process of time, however, it was perceived that the mere figure or outline would suffice to designate the objects. This would occasion the primary step in achromatic picturing; which, like our modern engraving, was done in a single colour, or rather in none at all, for such is black accounted. Here came in the inkstand. But this was not all. There was an interval still before the use of the stylus and papyrus. The colouring being thus uniform, it could not fail to be remarked that the carving, the *articulation*, so to say, of the *body* of the object, which had been hitherto the guide of the infant colourist, was now useless. From this, therefore, which was termed the "pure" form of the hieroglyphic, the natural tendency was to a mere outline, which accordingly received the name of "linear;" and was in turn the transition to the *curvilinear* or running-hand called hieratic. We have thus observed the *intagliation*, as it is termed, gradually recede from the excavation of the full figure to the delineation of a faint outline. The next step was, that this line itself was conceived to vanish from the stone, and the human intellect thus landed "high and dry" upon a plain surface. Looking around from this vantage-ground, the convenience would soon occur to it of a surface,—not, as hitherto, immovable, difficult, and exposed,—but a surface at once pliable, portable, and preservable. Here was the conjunction of the hieroglyphic with the combination of inkstand, stylus, and papyrus; and afterwards, of course, their collective offspring, the sacred *Books*. Now, if the author had taken his stand beside the early monument containing these implements, and extended backwards the long series of this painfully

slow progression, he would easily have gained the conception himself, and brought his readers to the conclusion, that the art of writing must have originated far within the primeval ages.

These remarks, however, are not intended to censure Dr. Hawks. We do not forget that his work is but a "compilation," and believe that he has met with nothing of this minuteness in his authorities. Our object has been chiefly to vindicate the claims of such a commentary as we suggested in the opening of this article.

Next in the author's selection of "facts" respecting the antiquities of Egypt, is the evidence of a nature properly *historical*. First in this class are the fragments of Manetho. Touching the personality or credibility of this writer—who is known to have been long disputed in one or the other particular, or confounded insidiously with an impostor who stole his name—upon these points, we say, the statement of Dr. Hawks is very creditably impartial. He does not dissemble that the decision of the learned is affirmative upon both particulars. But we hardly think him accurate in styling Eratosthenes and the author of the "Old Chronicle" "*abbreviators of Manetho*." The "Old Chronicle" was written by Apollodorus of Athens, a continuator of the chronological labours of Eratosthenes;—the two being, perhaps, the most erudite scholars of the most erudite age of Greece. In Egyptian history they were both original inquirers, and for consecutive periods; by the direction, too, we believe, and under the patronage, of the reigning sovereigns of the country. They had neither of them probably ever read Manetho;—certainly not Eratosthenes, who seems to have written about the same time. Having thus been independent of, and parallel with, the Egyptian historian, the general coincidence between their respective "lists" of dynasties is highly important, not merely to the confirmation of the facts related, but also to the vindication of the fundamental authority of Manetho. For if the Greeks could be passed for "*abbreviators*," they would be but the elephant placed upon the tortoise; the latter being set afloat already on the baseless fabric of an imposture.

Dr. Hawks further cites from an author whom he omits to name, a passage which seems to us singularly impolitic and imprudent from the pen of a defender of the Bible. Speaking of the authenticity of dynasties and individual sovereigns in Egyptian history, this writer proceeds:—

"But on such information, even when free from doubt and most accurate, little real value can be set; while the Bible supplies, either by express statement or obvious implication, *facts and principles*, which constitute *genuine history*, and go far to give the past all the value which it can possess for the men of these times."—P. 23.

Observations of this sort compromise the cause they seek to serve. In a *scientific* point of view, (and that is the sole point of view in which such subjects are to be regarded,) "such information," when its accuracy is *assured*, instead of being of "little real value," is to be prized "above rubies." The Bible needs no attempts like this to forestall the discoveries of men of science, or to depreciate their value, for *fear*, apparently, that they may conflict with its claims. Such attempts savour too much of what we call the "Jesuitism" of justifying the means by the end,—a pious fraud. For a "pious fraud" is no less a fraud, when pretending profanely to sustain the Bible, than when perpetrated for the sake of a Society. On the contrary, the offence seems aggravated in direct proportion to the difference of sanctity and majesty between the objects.

Our author next treats of the *hieroglyphics*,—their several species, and the history of their interpretation. His sketch of the history is, in the main, both discriminating and impartial; and his exposition of the varieties, or rather gradations, of the hieroglyphic art itself, is clear in statement and neat in expression. Here, indeed, in the arrangement of materials the most chaotically unpropitious, in an order so lucid and natural as to be completely intelligible—the peculiar talent of the author seems to lie. And this only makes us regret the more that he has not drawn upon the materials before him more freely; and, above all, that he has not tried to extract from them a language more instructive still, as well as more accessible, than that of the hieroglyphics. Let us attempt to show how the hieroglyphics themselves might be made to disclose these more important secrets, by interrogating them not as conventional signs, but as historical facts. As a collateral result, we may perhaps obtain such an exposition of the system, in the former character also, as Dr. Hawks does not appear to have found among the numerous sources of his work.

In analyzing the Egyptian, or any other naturally developed system of writing, *i. e.*, of representation, there are three points of consideration to be steadily kept distinct; namely, the Things signified, the Principles of signification, and the Signs. These three elements have each their appropriate laws, and their progressive modifications; the modifications being produced by the alternate action and reaction of the first and third elements with the human mind, and in the successive directions of the second. When distinctions so fundamental continue to be unobserved or confounded, we need not be surprised to find that clouds of mysticism still overhang the subject of Egyptian Hieroglyphics.

First, as to the *things signified*, which are the foundation of all.

The earliest to engage the consideration of the human mind were, of course, the mere *physical* objects. Next to these, in order, would be the *relations* between two or more such objects; that is, their resemblance in one or more qualities. Between these relations themselves, again, a more *abstract* class of resemblances or relations arise, and the consideration of these would form the third step. The first class we shall distinguish as Physical Objects: the second, as Ideal Objects: the third, as Abstract Objects. These three categories of *mental* objects have each a second aspect, which constitutes, in fact, the essential means of transition from one to another of the stages. The subdivisions, with the course of transition, may be indicated thus:—

1. The Physical object *and* its quality; which, by conjunction with a similar quality and object, give origin to the ideal object, called relation.

2. The Ideal object *and* its quality; which, with the like concurrence of an ideal quality and object, give rise, in turn, to the sort of objects we have termed abstract.

3. The abstract object *and* its quality. Beyond this there are no gradations of *kind*, but only of degree, of complication. The conclusive reason is, that the mind is now removed completely from contact with matter; whereas, in the second stage, its combinations were only half independent, the Ideal arch upon which it stood, so to speak, abutting immediately upon Physical objects. These are, therefore, the principal and progressive stages through which the human intellect must have passed, not only in the formation of this, but of every other art and science of the past. They are even the poles round which it must continue to revolve, from the cradle to the grave of all civilization. For if the reflecting reader will try to imagine a phenomenon of matter or mind not included in one or other of these successive categories, he will agree, we think, that the future can, no more than the present, present us anything beyond an unfolding of these eternal types or forms, which seem to be laid in the constitution of our sublunary system.

Now this being the order of conceiving and *considering* the various objects of human knowledge, it was necessarily that of *representing* them too. The *principle* of the representation was accordingly three-fold: by Imitation, by Association, and by Analogy. Like the things to be represented, these modes have each, of course, a double aspect.

There is an *imitation* by Similarity and by Suggestion; that is to say, by putting the full image to signify the object itself, or merely some principal feature or quality. For example, the Egyp-

tians, to indicate the *sun*, described a circle; and drew a bearded man bound, to denote an *Asiatic prisoner*; or a bird with fire-coloured feathers, (the flamingo, perhaps,) to denote the quality *red*. This expedient of direct expression, it is plain, is only applicable to the first of our categories.

There is an *association* by Participation and by Production; that is to say, a part or quality of the object, and consequently of its image, may signify the whole, or a whole object may represent the idea of one entirely distinct, but connected with it by the relation of cause and effect: this is the method appropriate to the second of our categories. It may be exemplified as thus: Egypt was represented by a crocodile, because a characteristic object, and *part* of the country; and a cat might stand for the moon, because its eyes were remarked to become dilated at the full, the one incident being supposed an effect of the other: or, again, a lion signified the Nile rising,—perhaps because the appearance, at the time, of the constellation of this name above the horizon of Egypt coincided with, and was thus thought to *produce*, the overflowing of the river.

There is, thirdly, an *Analogy* proper, which expresses either of the Ideal objects upon which it abuts *through* the other, and a more complex analogy, which represents a distinct object of the same class by means of either of the former to which it may be related by causation. The representation here, we have said, was “through” the Ideal objects, not *by* them, as in the preceding stage of the Physical: for how make an ideal object or relation a *sensible* sign? The only expedient possible could be, if these objects had established signs of a nature to be subjected to sense. This requisite was, in fact, prepared in the semi-material symbols of *words*. But the representation of oral words by each other, could only be through a resemblance of *sound*, whether in whole or in part, or in production. Accordingly, the Egyptians, to write the Abstract notions, for instance, of “good,” and of “creation,” depicted a lute and an eye, because the names of these objects, viz.: *nefru* and *iri*, had respectively the same syllabic sound; and the homophony in other cases turned upon the initial articulation merely. Here it will be perceived we have reached the final form of graphical representation, so familiar to our readers as the Alphabetic: reached it, too, by a progression, no step of which is conventional or artificial, but all quite spontaneous, nay, necessary.

Having thus defined the different descriptions of objects to be signified, and the different modes of signifying them, together with the correlative order of succession in each series, it is now not difficult to explain the system and history of the instruments, *the signs*,

whether in ancient Egypt or elsewhere. Indeed, we venture to hope the reader is already in fundamental possession of the whole, and shall, therefore, content ourselves with identifying the designations attested by tradition, and affixing them to the appropriate divisions of this analysis. This last degree of verification will be visible to sense in the annexed rude scheme of the entire exposition :

Things to be signified.		Principles of signification.		Signs.	
Physical :	{ Object or Quality.	Imitation :	{ Similarity or Suggestion.	Hieroglyphics :	{ Curiologic = pure picture ; or, Tropical = linear picture.
Ideal :	{ Quality or Object.	Association :	{ Participation or Production.	Characters :	{ Tropical = ideographic ; or, Symbolic = allographic.
Abstract :	{ Object or Quality.	Analogy :	{ Homophony or Derivation.	Letters :	{ Hieratic = phonographic ; or, Enchorial = epistolographic.

We must here commit this outline to the reader, and invite him to compare it with the other representations of this curious subject. The terms we have mostly adopted he will find more fully discussed in the admirable Warburton ; who gave, we do not hesitate to affirm, among unavoidable errors, a more *philosophic* account of the hieroglyphic system nearly a century ago, than has appeared, after all the parade of discovery, in any subsequent writer, of whom at least we are aware, to this hour. We do not except the latest (and not the least ostentatious) of them, the Chevalier Bunsen ; who, however, if we remember, deigns to make no mention whatever of Warburton. Among the errors alluded to in this vigorous intellect, was his division of Egyptian writing into four, instead of three kinds. And this recalls us to Dr. Hawks, who adopts, from Mr. Gliddon, an error of the same nature ; only with the aggravation of applying it to one of the kinds, and subdividing the Symbolic forms into *four*, instead of two. We might proceed, in the light of the foregoing explanation, to point out many others, not only in our author's compilation, but in the most eminent of his originals. And such an exposure, however invidious, might serve to shield the theory that accomplished it from being charged, by those who are better judges of names than of things, with presumption. But, wanting space, we can give no further assurance than that, if any of our *critical* readers will be good enough to show the defects of said theory by argument or fact, we, on our part, stand engaged to make *him* better acquainted—not by any means with the philosophy of Egyptian hieroglyphics—but with the real state of his knowledge upon the subject.

From the hieroglyphics, the author passes to a general sketch of the situation and climate of Egypt, as bearing upon the singular

preservation of its monuments, the principal localities and specimens of its ruins, and the state of the arts of design. Under this head we quote the following passage, descriptive of the subjects selected to decorate the interior of the tombs. It may also be taken for a sample of Dr. Hawks's neat and lively style:—

“Again, there are the family vaults of the wealthy, the priesthood, the military, &c. These are sometimes very extensive, consisting of various rooms connected by galleries, with the walls of the apartments covered with paintings. The scenes delineated most commonly have reference to the operations of ordinary life. The deceased is represented with his family around him; sometimes they are at the banquet, sometimes listening to music, or amusing themselves with the dance. Again, he is seen in the country, hunting, fowling, or fishing; next, he is superintending agricultural labours. In short, almost every species of mechanical trade is depicted in the tombs: all are scenes of activity, and it has been well said, that ‘everything in them savours of life, but the corpse.’ The predominant wish seems to have been, to banish from them all that could suggest the idea of death; and the only explanation that offers itself of this singular custom is, that the proprietor of the tomb employed himself, while living, in the preparation for his posterity of what may be called a pictorial autobiography. With the dead it was usual to deposit, in the tombs, articles of luxury on which they had set a value while living; and in the case of the humble artisan, the tools or utensils which he used in life, were laid with him when he rested from his toil. Hence various objects of interest have been found in the tombs. Elegant vases of granite, alabaster, metal, and earth, are abundant in the various museums of Europe. The tools of the mason and carpenter, articles of household furniture, models of boats and houses, the pallets used by the sacred scribes, with their cakes of ink and reed pens or brushes, with various other articles, are by no means uncommon. Books written on rolls of the papyrus are also found, sometimes enclosed in the swathings of the mummy, sometimes in hollow cases of wood or in earthen jars.”—Pp. 76, 77.

It was in this manner the papyrus roll above referred to, named the Book of the Dead, had been preserved. It will be observed, by the way, that Dr. Lepsius' interpretation of the scroll, as describing the dismal peregrinations of the soul after death, does not tally very well with the preceding description of the tombs, which seem to have been fitted up, on the contrary, for cheerful and permanent habitation. Nor do we agree with Dr. Hawks, that these scenes had any biographical design. This, like so many more of our modern notions concerning Egypt and antiquity in general, belongs to what might be termed the *ex-post-facto* philosophy. But the matter is too large for our space. With respect to the implements, &c., too, found in these tombs, it is to be observed, they are not peculiar to Egypt; such things are found as well in the tombs of Etruria, of Greece, of Mexico, and down to our own Indian mounds along the Ohio and the Mississippi. The different degrees of an infant civilization make the observed diversity in the character of the contents. Thus the “brush,” in the above enumeration, found accompanying

the cake of ink, affords a curious proof of the practice of mono-chromatic colouring, which we have represented as one of the early stages of the monumental hieroglyphic art.

Thus far for some of the objects of art, both fine and useful. Another extract or two respecting the artists and the execution:—

“In inspecting the specimens of sculpture and painting presented in the remains of ancient Egypt, one is forcibly struck with the manifold defects to be found generally alike in the design and execution; and these are the more surprising, when occasionally some specimen is met with *confessedly* of high merit, as exhibiting practised artistic skill. It is observable, also, that these better specimens are delineations of something other than the human figure. Perhaps a reason for this may, to a certain extent, be found in a consideration of the purpose to which the Egyptians applied the arts of design. The effort was not with them to speak through the eye to the imagination; theirs was the more matter-of-fact business of addressing the understanding. . . . In fulfilling their design, therefore, it was more important to convey the idea correctly, and avoid mistakes, than it was to produce a finished work of art. Hence, the representation of the human figure seldom affords *proof* of elaboration in its execution; a very rude sketch was sufficient to show that nothing but man could be meant by it; commonly the face and lower limbs are in profile, while the body is presented with its full front: proportion, also, is sometimes utterly neglected. In fact, the rough drawing served but to spell the word man, while the hieroglyphics above it informed him who could read them, who or what the man was. But in the very same picture, perhaps, containing a rough sketch of the human figure, birds or other objects would be represented, drawn with great spirit, and coloured with a minute attention to nature. Accuracy of delineation was resorted to when such accuracy was necessary to guard against mistakes, and it was *therefore* required to show the species of the bird represented,” &c.—Pp. 78, 79.

We have allowed the author to state his explanation at length, as the fact is one of the most interesting and uniform in the palæology of the arts of design. His conjecture may be well-founded, at least “to a certain extent,” as he limits it himself, with that wise sobriety of statement which marks the man who understands and attends to the value of words. But supposing the defects in question to be owing directly to the unartistic purpose of the Egyptians, still it would not follow that they had the power to do better. On the contrary, the absence of this purpose proves the absence of the corresponding power: the latter is father to the other. Moreover, how was it more necessary, for even this merely designative purpose, to be nice in the delineation of the lower animals than in that of man, seeing the former might be indicated as well as the latter, and usually were, in fact, hieroglyphically, by name? Again, in Nineveh, Khorsabad, Persepolis, &c., where there were no hieroglyphics to affix, and no arrow-head or other characters are found employed, we believe, the late explorers all remark the same disparity of execution.

The truth is, that the cause is to be sought in a deeper philosophy. It arises jointly from the nature of the subject and of the artist. The human figure is immensely the most complex, and proportionally the most difficult to express, of any in the animal kingdom. And, then, this difficulty is vastly aggravated when man has *to sit for himself*. For this is strictly his intellectual condition, until he be brought round to a position, so to say, without himself, by mounting, gradually, the scale of objects, from the inanimate up to the progressively more organized. This position of self-portraiture, of self-contemplation, was first, in the history of humanity, attained in ethics, as well as in art, on the glorious soil of Greece. Here it was that men first understood the difficulty of *knowing themselves* sufficiently well to have made the maxim an injunction from the temple porch of the god of philosophy.

We had almost forgotten to confess to our readers that there is an appendage to the work of Dr. Hawks, which usurps a full moiety of the elegantly bound volume. Like Pope's grub in amber, the first emotion it inspires is the question, "how it got there." It is entitled, "Journal of a Voyage up the Nile, made between the Months of November, 1848, and April, 1849." The *writer* makes a much larger figure in his own Journal than do Egypt and its monuments. On every page, nay, almost in every paragraph, we find his "dragoman," his "boats," his adventures, in a word, by flood and field; not forgetting his frequent encounters and familiarities with "young English noblemen." Then, in the scientific controversies respecting Egypt, *he* finds no difficulty. With the "Hieroglyphic Dictionary and Grammar of Champollion" in hand, he moves through the labyrinth of monuments with the familiarity of a high-priest of the 18th dynasty. And for the poetry and philosophy, his guide-books are, avowedly, Moore's Epicurean and the Travels of Miss Martineau!

Glancing through his pages we encounter the following allusion:—

"Had you been here [he is in the midst of an apostrophe to the reader] in the time of the Trojan war, you might have seen the elegant form of Memnon, standing erect in his car, and his two hundred chariots and twenty thousand horseman, *which were levied to accompany Achilles to the plains of Troy*," &c.—P. 121.

The reader perceives that our traveller has read Homer. Ay, and he quotes him at the bottom of his page; but he assumes the reader to be, like himself, too familiar with the text to require chapter and verse for so novel a reading.

[The writer of the above article having filled up all the space allotted to him without characterizing the higher and holier range of Dr. Hawks's labours—the illustration and confirmation of the historical records of the Pentateuch—we add a few words, (and we regret that they must be but few,) to indicate his mode of procedure. The subject is opened, in the fifth chapter, with some well-considered and judicious observations on the nature and value of *incidental* testimony, such as that about to be adduced. The Bible, in giving the history of the Hebrew race, gives also, incidentally, a *part* of the history of the Egyptians. Now, if modern discoveries in Egypt

“bring to light historical events which synchronize with the relation of them given in our book; or if they illustrate, in hundreds of particulars, national usages, or manners, or arts, all of which are found to harmonize with what our document casually illustrates of customs, &c., among the ancient people to whom it incidentally refers; then cumulative testimony is afforded thereby to the truth of our document, so far, at least, as our book and the monuments professedly speak of the same thing.”—P. 87.

Dr. Hawks is well assured that the Bible “does not *need* this cumulative testimony to its authenticity.” But it has been boldly asserted that the Egyptian monuments directly contradict the truth of the Bible,—and that, too, while the *certain* correctness of some of the hieroglyphical interpretations is only assured by their correspondence with the Bible narrative. Our author proposes, then, to go through the fragments (and they are but fragments) of history preserved in the monuments, and to compare them—even though in isolated parts, gathered here and there—with the history preserved in the Bible. He takes up successively the history of Abraham, of Joseph, of the Bondage, of the Deliverance, and of the Wanderings, and finds, in each, coincidences of that most striking class—the undesigned—so numerous and so obvious, when once brought out, as to furnish a very large stock of cumulative testimony. As a specimen of the argument, we quote the points selected from the history of Abraham, and illustrated from the Egyptian remains; namely:—

- “That Egypt was then a powerful nation, rich and civilized.”
- “That Lower Egypt was then dry.”
- “That its kings were known by the name of Pharaoh.”
- “That domestic servitude then existed there.”
- “That there was famine in Canaan and abundance in Egypt.”
- “That Sarah was fair, and used no covering or veil over her face.”
- “That Pharaoh wished to place her in his harem.”
- “That there was no dislike of Abraham's pastoral occupation then manifested.”
- “That his gifts were sheep, oxen, he and she asses, men and maid servants, camels, gold, and silver.”
- “That Abraham accepted these gifts.”—P. 94.

In the treatment of this branch of the subject, Dr. Hawks's admirable faculty of lucid arrangement and distinct statement has full play; and he proceeds, too, with a calm confidence of the strength of his positions, that cannot fail to inspire his readers—such of them especially as have been somewhat startled by the bold asseverations of the infidel school of Egyptologists and their train of ignorant imitators—with a similar confidence. The ninth chapter gives a brief summing up of his results, from which we quote, in conclusion, the following sober, manly, and discriminating passage:—

“We have, we are well aware, done but little more than furnish a few items, and those of a general nature, of the mass of testimony which might easily be adduced. We are not without the hope, however, that enough has been presented to show that the boast is premature which proclaims that Egyptian discoveries have proved the Bible to be false. The geology and chronology which are established (as it is said) by the soil and monuments of Egypt, are the strong grounds on which those rely who would condemn the Scriptures: but to our minds, we are free to confess, were both these grounds much stronger than they are, the conclusion would be most unphilosophic that the sacred history is untrue. For what are the facts? We have shown a great many particulars in which, undeniably, the testimony afforded by Egypt to our narrative, is too marked to be accidental. Hundreds of circumstances, some of them singly of small importance, and all casually introduced, without being intended as evidence when they were penned, are found, on being brought together, to harmonize in a wonderful manner with the story which (as far as that story has been interpreted or understood) Egypt is telling of herself. Under such circumstances, what says the enlightened and truly philosophic mind? Certainly this: that even granting, in the present imperfect condition of science, there may be much in the geology of Egypt which indicates an extreme age, and presents a seeming difficulty in reconciling that age with received opinions as to the *date* of events; granting that the chronology, supposed to be gathered from cartouches interpreted by the guidance of a supposed Egyptian historian, whose very existence even is to some of the learned doubtful; granting that such chronology may not appear to synchronize with any received system of Scripture chronology; yet there is so much plain and palpable in Egypt that, in the shape of undoubted facts, does rise up to support the Bible story; so much of the Book is thus *proved to be true*; that real science will pause ere it too hastily concludes to reject, as entirely false, a witness clearly sustained in part, and that an important part; and will modestly conclude, that when more is fully known that science may *possibly* hereafter reveal, it will be found, that as the Bible and science are alike from God, they will prove, *when investigation is finished*, to be in entire harmony.

“The Bible, so far as the testimony of Egypt is concerned, has established a claim that is undoubtedly to be, *in part* at least, believed. Let her, then, have credit for that part, and let it create the reasonable presumption that *all* she says, if properly understood, will be found true; let her have the benefit of this at least, until the science of man, now confessedly imperfect, shall have produced from Egypt what the Bible has, namely, equally *undoubted evidence*: it certainly *has not yet done it*, in contradiction to the Bible.”—Pp. 239, 240.]

ART. X.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(1.) THE press of Messrs. Robert Carter & Brothers is abundantly prolific; and, what is more, prolific only of good. Among their recent issues is a reprint of the "*Young Man's Closet Library*, by ROBERT PHILIP," (12mo., pp. 347,) embracing the three works known as Manly Piety in its Principles, Manly Piety in its Spirit, and Manly Piety in its Realizations, which, on their first appearance, were so widely popular and useful. Mr. Philip is a writer somewhat given to exaggeration and straining after points; but this work has fewer of his faults than some others; and it abounds in strong appeals, admirably adapted, both in manner and matter, to the minds and consciences of young men.

(2.) "*A Copious and Critical English-Latin Lexicon, founded on the German-Latin Dictionary of Dr. C. E. Georges*, by the Rev. J. E. RIDDLE, M. A., and Rev. J. K. ARNOLD, M. A. First American edition, revised, &c. by CHARLES ANTHON, LL. D." (New-York: Harper & Brothers: 8vo., pp. 754.) In our school-days, we got out our exercises by dint of turning English words into bad Latin, and then looking out the Greek for it in our well-thumbed Schrevelius. Boys of this age have green pastures, indeed, to walk in. This new English-Latin Lexicon, like Liddell & Scott's Greek, and Freund's Latin Dictionaries, will necessarily supersede all other works of the same class, and for the same reason,—its vast superiority. The German-Latin Lexicon of Georges has long held the very highest rank in its own country; and Messrs. Riddle and Arnold have added large materials gathered from various sources. The American edition is decidedly in advance of the English, especially in the copious dictionary of proper names. The printing and binding are in the excellent style for which all the large Lexicons, got out by Messrs. Harper, are distinguished.

(3.) "*The Miscellaneous Works of Oliver Goldsmith, including a variety of pieces now first collected*, by JAMES PRYOR. In four volumes. Vol. I." (New-York: G. P. Putnam, 1850: foolscap 8vo., pp. 586.) Mr. Pryor's indefatigable labours on every point connected with the life and writings of Goldsmith have been fully acknowledged by the more recent biographers, Forster and Irving. Indeed, but for Pryor, it is not likely that Forster and Irving would have written at all. The complete collection of Goldsmith's works was the final proof of Mr. Pryor's pains-taking industry: and Mr. Putnam has taken the tide of public feeling at the flow in this beautiful reprint of it. The present volume contains the "Bee," the "Essays," (including many now first collected,) the "Inquiry into the present state of Polite Learning in Europe," and a number of Prefaces and Introductions, several of which are newly collected. No library that deals at all in the luxuries of literature, can be deemed complete without this edition of Goldsmith. Mr. Putnam has brought it out in his usual style of typographical neatness, and in a new and unique binding.

(4.) "WHATELEY'S ELEMENTS OF RHETORIC" has been so long before the public, that a critical notice of it would now be out of place. Our own judgment is simply, that no work extant in English compares with it in logical clearness of the subject—viewing Rhetoric in the restricted sense in which Dr. Whateley uses it. A neat and cheap edition (18mo., pp. 348) has just been issued by Messrs. Harper & Brothers.

(5.) "*Objections to Calvinism as it is, in a series of Letters addressed to Rev. N. L. Rice, D. D., by Rev. R. S. FOSTER; with an Appendix, containing Replies and Rejoinders.*" (Cincinnati: 1849. 12mo., pp. 310.) Most of the letters here collected appeared originally in the Western Christian Advocate, and owed their origin there to a series of attacks on Methodism in a Western journal. The object of Mr. Foster, as he himself states it, is "not to discuss fully the doctrines peculiar to Calvinism, nor to present the counter views of Arminians, but *simply to present a statement of Calvinism, and objections thereto.*" Under this plan he treats, in successive chapters, of God's Eternal Decrees: of Election and Reprobation: of the Atonement: of Effectual Calling: of Final Perseverance: of the State of the Heathen World: and of the Human Will. On each of these topics the Calvinistic view is stated, *not* in the language of Mr. Foster, but in that of the Confession of Faith and of standard Calvinistic writers: and the statements, in general, appear to us to be as fair as it is possible to make them. From these statements the author draws logical inferences—and these, in most cases, are the only *objections* to Calvinism that he adduces. Certainly, in view of the fearful character of these logical and inevitable results of the system, no other objection need be offered. We have long been satisfied that, in forming our moral judgments of *men*, we ought not to charge upon them the logical issues of their opinions, when they expressly disclaim those issues: but, in judging of *systems*, our logic may, and should, be unsparing and relentless. Truth must not be tampered with. Mr. Foster writes with great vigour and clearness; and his book is calculated to do good in regions where the Calvinistic controversy is still going on. For ourselves, we most heartily wish that the controversy were dead, buried, and forgotten.

Prefixed to the volume is a clear and succinct historical sketch of the Calvinistic theory, brought up to the present time, by Dr. Simpson.

(6.) WE have received a copy of the twenty-sixth thousand of "WAYLAND'S *Elements of Moral Science, abridged and adapted to the use of Schools and Academies, by the Author.*" (Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln: 18mo., pp. 210.) There is no other book so good for the purpose.

(7.) MESSRS. CARTERS have reprinted that excellent book, "*Domestic Portraiture; or, the Successful Application of Religious Principle in the Education of a Family, exemplified in the Memoirs of three of the deceased children of the Rev. Legh Richmond.*" (12mo., pp. 351.) It is full of touching proofs of the ten-

der, Christ-like spirit of the sainted Richmond : and abounds in encouragement to Christians in the religious training of their children ; at the same time it abounds in warning and reproof—though more implied than expressed—to such as neglect this religious training. There is a waking up among us to this great theme : would that it were a universal awakening ! Prefixed to the work are a few “Introductory Remarks on Christian Education, by Rev. E. Bickersteth,” which are rather disjointed and unhappy.

(8.) We shall not be censured, we trust, as meddling with party politics, if we say that President Taylor has made no appointment over which we have more rejoiced than that of Mr. EWBANK as Commissioner of Patents. Few of the public servants of the people, we opine, can show as good a title to their places as his “*Descriptive and Historical Account of Hydraulic and other Machines for raising Water, ancient and modern, with Observations on various subjects connected with the Mechanic Arts: including the progressive development of the Steam Engine, &c.,* by THOMAS EWBANK.” (New-York : Greeley & M’Elrath, 1849 : 8vo., pp. 608.) We confess that we were utterly ignorant of the character and value of this work, until we came to read it in the way of our duty. A general notion that it told all about machines for raising water in a very dry way—and that it might be a very useful book for engineers, &c., formed our whole idea of the work. How greatly have we been surprised to find it filled with various learning, stored with out-of-the-way and amusing information, and written in a style at once so clear and so pleasant, that the reading was a pleasure instead of a toil ! The work is divided into five books, of which the first treats of “Primitive and Ancient Devices for raising Water ;” the second, of “Machines for raising Water by Atmospheric Pressure ;” the third, of “Machines working by Compression, independent of Atmospheric Influence ;” the fourth, of “Machines, chiefly modern, including the earliest applications of Steam for raising Water ;” and the fifth, of “Novel devices, with an account of Syphons, Cocks, Valves, Clepsydræ,” &c. In every case the history of each particular machine is traced from the first indications in the books or monuments of antiquity, down to the latest refinements of mechanical skill. To mechanics and inventors this volume is, we suppose, absolutely indispensable ; and to all others, who wish to learn how the arts began, and to trace their gradual progress, we commend it as a repository both of instruction and amusement.

(9.) “*The Fountain of Living Waters, in a Series of Sketches, by a Layman,*” (New-York : G. P. Putman, 1850 : 18mo., pp. 165,) is a sweet and tender appeal in behalf of spiritual religion, addressed especially to the young. It describes, in the light of personal experience, the sandy desert of the mere worldly life, and points out the Fountain of living waters, ever pure and abundant, to which all are invited to “come and partake freely.” It would make a beautiful and useful gift-book.

(10.) THE thousandth anniversary of the birth of Alfred the Great, was celebrated in England a few months ago. Our young readers will find his history most pleasantly told in the "*History of King Alfred of England*, by JACOB ABBOTT;" recently published by Messrs. Harper & Brothers; and, like the other volumes of Mr. Abbott's series, beautifully illustrated.

(11.) THE day will come when LAMARTINE, standing by the gate-post of the Hôtel de Ville, and subduing by his eloquence the furious passions of the thousands upon thousands of delirious revolutionists who sought they knew not what at the hands of the self-constituted Provisional Government of 1848, will be commemorated in stone, on canvass, and in song, as the very impersonation of moral sublimity. To-day, shame to human ingratitude and perspicacity! it is the fashion to disparage, or at least to neglect him. His "*History of the French Revolution of 1848*," marked by that command of language, spontaneous eloquence, and tenderness of feeling, which in Lamartine are so remarkably combined with the power of clear narrative and graphic description, has met with little favour from the press, and does not seem, in this country, to have reached the people. "But it is the utterance of vanity!" What then? Of all this Revolution, most of all, of the repression of violence, wrong, and bloodshed, who, more truthfully than Lamartine, can say, "*Pars magna fui*?"

The book is a series of pictures. We give an example:—On the second morning of the revolution the dregs of Paris were gathered in countless numbers before the Hôtel de Ville. The red banner, signal of the revolution of blood, was waving over their heads, and they demanded its adoption as the standard of the republic. At last a deputation forced its way into the building to bear the final summons from the mob to the provisional government. Their spokesman was a young workman, the Spartacus of the band:—

"He was a man of from twenty to twenty-five years of age, small, but straight in form; he was strong, and had a firm and manly carriage of his limbs; his face, blackened by the smoke of powder, was pale with emotion; his lips trembled with rage; his eyes, sunk under a prominent brow, flashed fire. The electricity of the people was concentrated in his look. His countenance had, at once, a reflective yet mazy expression; strange contrast, which is found in certain faces, where a mistaken opinion has nevertheless become a sincere conviction, and an obstinate pursuit of the impossible! He rolled in his left hand a strip of ribbon or red stuff. He held in his right hand the barrel of a carbine, the but-end of which he struck with force upon the floor at every word.

"He spoke with that rude and brutal eloquence which admits of no reply; which does not discuss, but which commands. He had those terrible hesitations which irritate and redouble, in the uncultivated man, the rage of his suppressed emotion, from his very want of power to articulate his fury. His gestures helped out the meaning of his words. Every one was standing, and in silence, to listen to him.

"He spoke not as man, but in the name of the people, who wished to be obeyed, and who did not mean to wait. He prescribed the hours and minutes for the submission of government. He commanded it to perform miracles. He repeated to it, with accents of greater energy, all the conditions of the programme of impossibilities which the tumultuous cries of the people had enjoined it to accept and to realize on the instant:—the overthrow of all known society; the destruction of property and capitalists; spoliation; the immediate installation of the destitute into the community of goods; the proscription of the bankers, the wealthy, the manu-

facturers, the *bourgeois* of every condition above the receivers of salaries; a government with an axe in its hand, to level all the superiorities of birth, competence, inheritance, and even of labour; in fine, the acceptance, without reply, and without delay, of the red flag, to signify to society its defeat; to the people, their victory; to Paris, terror; to all foreign governments, invasion: each of these injunctions was supported, by the orator, with a blow of the butt of his musket upon the floor, by frantic applause from those who were behind him, and a salute of shots, fired on the square.

"The members of the government, and the small number of ministers and friends who surrounded them, Buchez, Barthélemy St. Hilaire, and Payer, listened to these injunctions to the end, without interruption, as one listens to delirium, from fear of aggravating by contradicting it.

"Lamartine saw the efforts of his colleagues powerless against the obstinacy of these envoys of the people. He was irritated by this insolent defiance of an armed man, who constantly presented his carbine, as a powerful argument, to men who were disarmed, indeed, but who knew how to look death in the face. He broke through the groups which separated him from the orator. He approached this man, and took him by the arm. The man shuddered, and sought to disengage it, as if he feared the fascination of another being. He turned, with a disquietude at once savage and timid, towards his companions, as if to ask them what he should do.

"It is Lamartine," said some of the members of his party.

"Lamartine," cried the orator, with defiance, "what does he want with me? I do not wish to hear him; I wish the people to be obeyed upon the spot; or if not," added he, endeavouring to disengage his arm, "bullets, and no more words. Leave me, Lamartine!" continued he, still moving his arm, to disengage it; "I am a simple man. I do not know how to defend myself by words. I do not know how to answer by ideas. But I know how to will. I will, what the people have charged me to say here. Do not speak to me! Do not deceive me! Do not lull me to sleep by your eloquence of tongue! Behold a tongue that cuts everything, a tongue of fire!" said he, while striking on the barrel of his carbine. "There shall be no other interpreter between you and us."

"Lamartine smiled at this expression of the poor man, still retaining him by the arm. 'You speak well,' said he, 'you speak better than I do; the people has well chosen its interpreter. But it is not enough to speak well; we must listen to the language of reason, which God has bestowed on men of good faith and good will, that they might be able to explain themselves to one another, to aid, instead of destroying each other. A sincere speech is peace among men. Obstinate silence is war. Do you wish for war and blood? We accept it; our heads are devoted; but then, how the war and blood will fall back upon those who have not wished to listen to us!'—Yes! yes! Lamartine is right! Listen to Lamartine!" cried his comrades.

"At last, intelligence and feeling prevailed. He let his carbine fall upon the ground, and burst into tears. They surrounded him, they felt compassion for him; his comrades, yet more moved than he, withdrew him in their arms out of the precincts. They caused the column, of which they were the head and the voice, to flow back into the court-yards, signifying to the people, by their cries and gestures, the good words of the government, and the good resolutions which they themselves had formed. A sensation of hesitation and repentance was felt in the palace and at the gates—the government breathed."

The American edition (2 vols., 12mo., bound in one. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co.) is translated by F. A. Durivage and W. S. Chase.

(12.) "A Funeral Sermon on the Death of Noah Levings, D. D., preached before the New-York Conference, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., May, 1849, by THOMAS A. MORRIS, one of the Bishops of the M. E. Church." (New-York: Lane & Scott, pp. 20.) This discourse is marked by the well-known characteristics of Bishop Morris's style,—clearness, directness, and point. The text, Isa. xxxviii, 1: "Thus saith the Lord, Set thine house in order: for thou

shalt die, and not live," is briefly unfolded under two heads; first, the work of preparation required of us; secondly, the consideration by which it is enforced. Then follows a sketch of the life and public services of Dr. Levings, and a touching account of the closing scene. We commend the sermon especially to our preachers.

(13.) "DAVIES' *First Lessons in Arithmetic*," for the use of beginners, (18mo., pp. 168: New-York, A. S. Barnes & Co.,) combines the oral method with the method of teaching the combinations of figures by sight. It strikes us very favourably on a cursory examination.

(14.) MESSRS. CARTER & BROTHERS have issued a new edition of "*The Complete Works of Henry Kirke White, with an account of his Life*," by ROBERT SOUTHEY, LL. D." (8vo., pp. 420.) It is not necessary for us, at this day, to characterize Kirke White. The present edition, embracing all his writings, both prose and verse, is the best that we have seen, being printed on fine white paper, with a large and bold type.

(15.) SOME years ago the Greek and Latin exercises in common use in our schools were impracticable. Boys could not work them; and if they could, the result would not have been worth the toil. The true principle of making such exercises mainly *imitations of pure classic authors*, however, has wrought great changes in the form and character of these books. Mr. Arnold has employed it very successfully in his exercises on Nepos, and it is very generally made use of in M'Clintock and Crook's First Books in Greek and Latin. As long ago as 1832, it was employed by one of the little band of able men then gathered about the University of London, (who introduced a new era in elementary text-books,) in a small book, called "*Exercises on the Anabasis of Xenophon, to be rendered into Xenophontic Greek*." It contains sentences formed on the text of the Anabasis, (chiefly the first Book,) to be rendered into Greek, of the accuracy of which the pupil could judge by comparing his exercise with the original. Two books have lately appeared at home, in which this method is employed with the greatest skill and success. The first of these, intended for beginners, is "*Greek Lessons, consisting of selections from Xenophon's Anabasis, with directions for the study of the Grammar, Notes, Exercises, and a Vocabulary*," by ALPHEUS CROSBY, Professor in Dartmouth College." (Boston: Tappan, Whittemore, & Mason: 12mo., pp. 121.) Like all Professor Crosby's works, it is scholarly throughout. The other book, designed for more advanced scholars, is "*Exercises in Greek Prose Composition, adapted to the First Book of Xenophon's Anabasis*," by JAMES R. BOISE, Professor of Greek in Brown University." (New-York: D. Appleton & Co.: 12mo., pp. 185.) It contains exercises (far better prepared than those of the London book, above referred to) framed on sentences and phrases taken from the first book of the Anabasis, with vocabularies, and

brief, but judicious, explanatory notes. A vocabulary also is given with the first book, according to Krüger's text. We cannot see why Owen's text should not have been followed, as the exercises were prepared on it. We commend this work as an *excellent* exercise-book.

(16.) WE have seldom seen better prepared elementary books than "RAY'S *Arithmetic*," and "RAY'S *Algebra*, Part First." (New-York: Clark, Austin, & Smith.) They give the *rationale* of all the rules with such remarkable clearness and simplicity, that no child need stumble blindly on after the old plan of learning rules by heart, and applying, without understanding them.

(17.) WE are not competent judges of such a work as "*Respiration, and its Effects; more especially in relation to Asiatic Cholera, and other sinking Diseases*," by EMMA WILLARD." (New-York: Huntingdon & Savage, 1849: 8vo., pp. 64.) But we must say, that the enthusiasm of the writer has infected us: we took up her pamphlet with no expectation of reading more than a page or two to see its drift, and did not stop until we had read it through. Mrs. Willard believes that the *circulation of the blood is caused by respiration*, operating through animal heat; and has written a book to prove it, entitled, "A Treatise on the Motive Powers which produce the Circulation of the Blood." She applies this theory to Cholera; which disease she believes to consist mainly in (or rather to be caused by) deficient respiration. And she proposes a very simple cure, viz., deep and rapid breathing,—not merely a theoretical one, either; for she brings forward several cases of cure, under her own advice, from this simple process. Whether her views are sound or not, we cannot say; but they are certainly ingenious, and are here put forth in a shape that ought to command attention from scientific men.

(18.) "*The Practical German Grammar; or, a Natural Method of learning to read, write, and speak the German Language*," by CHARLES EICHORN." (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850: pp. 286.) This is another application of what is called the natural method of teaching the German language. The author's plan is good; but we cannot say that he has been successful in carrying it out. The rules are neither perspicuous nor concise; and they are so dissevered from the examples, as to make their application very obscure.

(19.) WE have had some fears of evil from the great multiplication of books, often by inexperienced persons, on the subject of Christian Perfection. One now before us appears calculated to be useful, though some portions of it may lead persons of warm temperament astray. It is entitled, "*Full Sanctification Realized*," edited by JOHN EYRE, (18mo., pp. 235,) and is made up chiefly of short accounts of the experience of eminent Christians,—most of which, we believe, have been published at the Methodist Book-Room, London.

(20.) "*Glimpses of Spain; or, Notes of an Unfinished Tour in 1847*, by S. T. WALLIS." (New-York: Harper & Brothers: 1849. 12mo., pp. 384.) Most travellers in Spain hitherto have fallen among thieves: Mr. Wallis's track, one would think, had led him only among angels. Almost everything he saw there was rose-coloured; but whether the light was from within or without, or, as our German friends would phrase it, was objective or subjective, it seems hard to decide. A right pleasant book of travels he has made of it, at all events: sunny and cheerful in spirit, graphic in description, and most readable throughout. An occasional tone of levity, in regard to religious themes, is the only discordant note we have to mention. Mr. Wallis appears to think more of the priests than of the Bible Society,—perhaps, however, it is only appearance.

(21.) WE mentioned in our last number the proposed publication, by Mr. R. GARRIGUE, of the "*Iconographic Encyclopædia of Science, Literature, and Art, systematically arranged by G. HECK; the text edited and translated by SPENCER F. BAIRD, A. M., M. D., Professor of Natural Sciences in Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.;*" and then assured our readers that the work would be amply worthy of the fullest confidence and encouragement. The first three numbers have since appeared, punctually at the promised time,—and their contents fully justify all our promises. The letter-press (240 pp., 8vo.) is occupied with *Mathematics*, including Geometry, (pure, applied, and descriptive,) and careful descriptions of Mathematical and Surveying Instruments; *Astronomy*, (Physical and Theoretical,) and *Physics*, (General Physics and Mechanics.) The style of the translation is concise, clear, and accurate—just what it should be for a scientific work. The separate subjects are necessarily treated with great brevity: but here the ample illustration given by the plates comes in most aptly. Indeed, in looking over the work, one is at a loss to say whether the plates are designed to illustrate the letter-press, or the letter-press the plates. We shall take occasion to give a more full account of this great work at some future point of its progress. In the mean time, we urge all our readers who desire to encourage a *genuine* book, to purchase this Encyclopædia.

(22.) WE mentioned the two new translations of Pascal on their appearance in England. We have now before us a reprint of "*The Provincial Letters of Blaise Pascal; a new translation, with Historical Introduction and Notes*, by REV. THOMAS M'CRIE." (New-York: Carter and Brothers. 1850. 12mo., pp. 392.) To speak of the merits of the Provincial Letters were as wise as to praise Shakspeare. It is our province, however, to characterize the *translation*. And what we say of that must be comparative: it is indefinitely superior to Pearce's, published about the same time in London, and that amounts to saying that it is the best English translation extant. This, and other translations, will be spoken of more at large in an article on Pascal, (already prepared by one of our contributors,) which waits its turn for a place in our pages.

(23.) It seems that BAPTIST NOËL's mind always had a proclivity towards the Baptist theory of Christianity, for he tells us, in the Preface to his "*Essay on Christian Baptism*," (New-York: Harper and Brothers. 1850. 18mo., pp. 308,) that during his ministry in the establishment, "an indefinite fear of the conclusions to which he might arrive, led him to avoid the study of the question of Baptism." In this blank state of mind he took up the question, and soon settled it—for he has had time both to make up his own mind, and to write his book within a marvellously brief period. Yet we believe him to be an honest and good man. In this volume he confines his attention to the subjects of baptism; assuming that the word baptism means immersion, and that to baptize is to immerse: and he hopes to make this assumption good in another volume. A review of the work is promised for a future number.

(24.) IN a brief notice of Dr. Bethune's Harvard Oration, in our last number, we mentioned, as its most striking feature, "its healthiness of tone, both moral and mental: no affectation, no transcendentalism, but the most manly good sense, expressed in a style as pure and transparent as it is fresh and vigorous." This judgment may be applied, almost without reserve, to the whole of the "*Orations and Occasional Discourses*, by GEORGE W. BETHUNE, D.D." (New-York: G. P. Putnam, 1850: 12mo., pp. 428.) In looking through this beautiful volume, we recognize many well-remembered passages—more, we think, than we could say of any other man's occasional addresses. Each of them has a definite practical aim,—and that aim is not often left unreached. But this volume, not merely from its own intrinsic merits, but as the best specimen extant of a class of literature almost peculiar to this country, deserves to be the subject of a special article, which we hope some day to offer to our readers.

(25.) "*The Works of Michael de Montaigne, comprising his Essays, Letters, and Journey through France and Italy; with Notes from all the Commentators, Biographical Notices, &c.*, by WILLIAM HAZLITT." (Philadelphia, J. W. Moore, 1849: 8vo., pp. 686.) The Essays of Montaigne, says Hallam, were "the first *provocatio ad populum*, the first appeal from the Porch and the Academy to the haunts of busy and of idle men; the first book that taught the unlearned reader to observe and reflect for himself on questions of moral philosophy." In knowledge of *man*, Montaigne has never been surpassed among the Essayists: in the combination of acuteness of perception, richness of fancy, affluence of literary illustration, with vivacity and energy of style, he remains unrivalled. His works are read in nearly all the living languages of Europe: but perhaps the best version of them, that nearest to the original in freshness and simplicity, is the one which we enjoy in English. The first English version was made by Florio, tutor to Prince Henry, (1603;) the next, by Cotton, about 1680, has formed the basis of all subsequent editions. Each succeeding editor has sought to mend Cotton, with more or less success. Mr. Hazlitt's edition is, doubtless, the best that has appeared. We trust that

Mr. Moore will be amply remunerated for his enterprise in bringing out this fine and cheap edition; thus bringing Montaigne within the reach of even narrow purses.

(26.) IN spite of toryism, one-sidedness, and even in many cases gross carelessness, "HUME'S *History of England*" retains its place in the very first rank of British historical literature. And so long as perspicuity and ease continue to be held as the chief merits of style, this supremacy will last. It needs no prophet to foretell that Hume will be a classic after Macaulay is forgotten, or, at least, laid upon the shelf, as having written for one age, and for one age only. Messrs. Phillips, Sampson, & Co., Boston, have felicitously projected an edition of Hume, to match in size, price, &c., their portable edition of Macaulay. Five volumes have already appeared: the unabridged work will be completed in six; and the last volume will contain a complete Index. This edition will undoubtedly be, as the publishers announce, the cheapest and most convenient edition of Hume now extant.

(27.) WE are glad to see that a second edition of "*Classical Studies: Essays on Ancient Literature and Art, with the Biography and Correspondence of eminent Philologists*," by Professors SEARS, EDWARDS, and FELTON," (Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln, 1849: 12mo., pp. 413,) has been called for. To those who do not know the book, a brief statement of its contents may be necessary. In the short "Introduction" we have a beautiful and scholarly plea for CLASSICAL STUDIES. Then follows a sketch of the "Schools of German Philology," (by Professor Sears,) which gives graphic personal accounts of Heyne, Winckelmann, Wolf, Boeckh, Hermann, Jacobs, &c., as well as a definite statement of the separate tendencies of the Berlin and Leipsic schools—if they can be thus distinguished. The next is a discourse on the "Study of Greek Literature," by Tegnér,—poetical, as might be expected. The third and fourth contributions, on the "Study of Classical Antiquity," and on "The Wealth of the Greeks in Works of Plastic Art," are from the veteran Jacobs, and are full of the fine enthusiasm which pervaded and inspired that great man's genius. The fifth, and, on many accounts, the most interesting and valuable portion of the volume, is a large collection of Philological Correspondence between the most eminent classical scholars of Holland and Germany, from Ruhaken and Ernesti, down to Passow and Jacobs. This is followed by four essays,—the "School of Philology in Holland," by Professor Edwards: the "Superiority of the Greek Language in the Use of its Dialects," translated from Jacobs, by Professor Felton: the "History of the Latin Language," abridged from Hand, by Professor Sears: and "The Education of the Moral Sentiment among the Ancient Greeks," another of Jacobs' genial discourses, translated by Professor Felton. The work concludes with a body of valuable notes, biographical and critical. We cannot but wonder that the Editors could allow this *second* edition to go forth without an Index. Many times, in our repeated references to the *first*, have we blamed them,—so far as we could blame men who were serving us with so rich a banquet,—

for permitting us to grope our way through many pages for a fact or a sentiment which could have been found in a moment by the aid of a fair Index.

Could Classical Teachers and Professors in this country do *anything* more likely to imbue the minds of their students with the enthusiasm which classical study, above all others, demands, than to set them to reading this book?

(28.) THE third and concluding volume of "HILDRETH's *History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent to the Organization of Government under the Federal Constitution*," (New-York, Harper & Brothers: 8vo., pp. 592,) has appeared. Appended to the volume is a complete list of authorities, and a copious index. We are promised a careful review of the whole work from an able writer, and therefore forego any remarks of our own at this time, except to repeat, that this is the *only* complete repository of the historical facts of America in a convenient form ever published.

(29.) "A *System of Ancient and Mediæval Geography, for the Use of Schools and Colleges*, by CHARLES ANTHON, LL. D.:" (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 1850: 8vo., pp. 769.) Those who, like ourselves, have attempted to teach Greek and Latin literature, know that a good and complete system of classical geography has been among the absolute *wants* of American schools and colleges. The work before us is meant precisely to fill the gap; and it takes up the subject in the *exhaustive* way in which Dr. Anthon generally treats the subjects he undertakes to discuss. It is a large book, indeed; but a large book was needed: we had compends enough before. It is divided into three parts,—Europe, (pp. 1–600,) Asia, (pp. 601–708,) and Africa, (pp. 709–750.) A brief sketch of the physical geography of each of these great divisions is given first, and then follows the descriptive geography of each country embraced in the division. The same order, or as near an approach to it as possible, is observed in treating of the several countries—an advantage which both teacher and student will know how to appreciate. At the end of the book is a copious index, covering twenty pages in small type. There is one striking defect—which we are almost inclined to think must be the bookbinder's fault rather than the author's—there is no *table of contents*. To get a bird's-eye view of the book, we have been compelled to go over it from beginning to end; and both teacher and pupil will have to make their own digests before the work as a *system* can be clear to them. If this be, indeed, an omission on the part of Dr. Anthon, we hope it will be supplied in the next edition—of which may there be many.

(30.) IN happiest company with the work just named, we find on our table its necessary complement, a "Classical Atlas, to illustrate Ancient Geography, by ALEXANDER G. FINDLAY, F. R. G. S.:" (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 1849, folio.) It contains twenty-five maps, showing the various divisions of the world as known to the ancients, drawn from the best sources, together

with a full index of names, both ancient and modern. The Introduction gives a valuable sketch of the history of ancient geography, and is illustrated by a plate exhibiting a portion of that singular specimen of ancient science, the Tabula Peutingeriana. It states, with great clearness, the difficulties of the task of representing the geography of former ages, and the sources from whence alone *accurate* notions of the subject are to be derived. The maps (done in England) are beautifully engraved and coloured,—and must be considered the *best* classical maps on a small scale now extant. Such at least is the testimony of those who have examined them much more thoroughly than we have yet been able to do. Our own judgment, founded on a hasty inspection, (yet careful as far as it has gone,) is, that for school and college purposes this Atlas must soon supersede all others.

(31.) AN edition of Cowper's Homer has long been wanted in this country. Mr. Putnam has supplied the want, in part at least, by the publication of "*The Iliad of Homer, translated into English blank Verse*, by WILLIAM COWPER, with Notes, by M. A. Dwight, author of Greek and Roman Mythology:" (12mo., pp. 617.) The edition chosen for reprint is that of Southey, which, it will be remembered, follows Cowper's *first* edition rather than his second, for the substantial reason that the former was prepared when the poet was in full possession of his faculties, and in his happiest days; the latter, in his later years of weariness and wretchedness, when life, not to say labour, was a burden. The present editor has added a number of notes, which strike us very favourably. There are not too many of them, and what there are appear to go directly to the point. The Odyssey is promised, should sufficient encouragement be given by the demand for the present volume. Of this we think there can be no danger—certainly there *should* be none. Homer can be read in English only in Cowper's version—unless, indeed, old Chapman's unequal translation may compete with it. Mr. Putnam has brought out the work in the style of neatness and elegance which characterizes all his late publications.

(32.) MESSRS. CARTER & BROTHERS have reprinted "*Sketches of Sermons on the Parables and Miracles of Christ*, by JABEZ BURNS, D. D., author of the Pulpit Cyclopædia," &c. (12mo., pp. 299.) As we have characterized this work before, it is needless for us now to do anything more than mention the fact of its reappearance, and renew our commendation of its conception and execution.

(33.) CHAMBERS' "*Information for the People*" (Philadelphia, W. A. Leary: 2 vols., royal 8vo., pp. 832, 846) is, what it professes to be, a cyclopædia of popular information of the most useful kind. It is not intended, like the bulky and many-tomed encyclopædias, for an unfailing book of reference in regard to all departments of human knowledge, but as a digest of those branches on which it is important that *all men* should be informed. As

purely technical topics and details, which go largely to swell the bulk of cyclopædias generally, are here omitted, there is ample room, within the compass of two noble octavos, for a summary of those branches of human knowledge which are necessary for every well-informed man. Where this book is owned in a family, and the children read it, they *cannot* be ignorant; and, moreover, they will have, for the cost of a few dollars, an amount of information which would cost them a hundred in the ordinary way of books. We are glad to see that the work is now in its *fifth* American edition, and hope it may want many more.

(34.) THE author of "*The Old World; or, Scenes and Cities in Foreign Lands*," (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850,) tells us, in his preface, that he "wrote, because he liked to." We suppose he printed for the same reason.

(35.) "*The Sermons of the Right Rev. Jeremy Taylor, D. D., comprising a Course for the whole Year, with a Supplement of Sermons on various Subjects and Occasions*," have been lately republished in a handsome 8vo. volume (pp. 565) by Messrs. R. Carter & Brothers of this city. The affluent imagery, abundant learning, and pure spirituality of Taylor's Sermons, will keep them in circulation as long, we suppose, as English sermons are read at all. This volume is a storehouse at once of poetry, eloquence, and divinity. Few clergymen are willing to do without Jeremy Taylor's whole works, unless the *res angusta domi* absolutely forbid it; but those who cannot buy the costly English edition of the complete works, will find here *all* the sermons, which constitute, perhaps, the most valuable part of Taylor's writings, at a very low price.

(36.) WE have seen nothing in the way of books of instruction in the art of penmanship, to compare with "*The Common School Writing-Book, in five numbers*," by O. G. BADLAM." (New-York: Collins & Brother.) It gives light-lined letters for tracing, and illustrates the mode of joining letters without lifting the pen, and affords various other ingenious aids to the learner. We commend it to teachers.

(37.) "*The War with Mexico*," by R. S. RIPLEY, Brevet Major in the U. S. Army," &c. (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 1850: 2 vols. 8vo., pp. 524 & 648.) These two ample volumes are not to be noticed without careful examination,—and *that* we have not been able to give them, as they were placed upon our table just as our closing sheet was going to press.

(38.) IT is a gratifying sign of improvement in the public taste, that books illustrative of Scripture, and especially of the *characters* of Scripture, are found to be so popular. Of this class is "*Family Pictures from the Bible*," by Mrs. ELLET." (New-York: G. P. Putnam. 12mo., pp. 223.) So far as we

know, this is the first gallery of *family* pictures from the Bible; the idea is a very felicitous one, and Mrs. Ellet has succeeded remarkably well in carrying it out. The style of the Sketches in this volume is, we think, decidedly better than that of her "*Women of the American Revolution*;" and, besides her own, several are furnished by Dr. Bethune, Rev. H. Field, Dr. Hutton, and others.

(39.) "*The English Pulpit: Collection of Sermons by the most eminent Living Divines of England.*" (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1849. 8vo., pp. 400.) There are several new features in this collection. The sermons are all by *living* divines, and no two are from the same hand. The editor, in making his selections, has not "confined himself to any one branch of the Christian Church, but has freely ranged through all denominations maintaining the essential principles of Christianity." Of the thirty-two discourses in the volume, *eight* are by Methodist preachers, namely, Newton, Bromley, Bunting, (father and son,) Atherton, Beaumont, Jobson, and Young. Among the rest, are some of the most eminent names in the various branches of the Christian Church in England. The book is well conceived, and will doubtless command an extensive sale.

(40.) WE call the special attention of teachers, and of all persons interested in Education, to Professor MANDEVILLE's course of books in Reading and Oratory, now publishing by Messrs. D. Appleton & Co., New-York. The "*Elements of Reading and Oratory*," (12mo., pp. 352,) and the "*Course of Reading for Common Schools and the lower Classes of Academies*," (12mo., pp. 377,) have both been some years before the public, yet have hardly, we think, received such attention as their remarkable merits deserve. To these are now prefixed a series of elementary works, including the "*Primary Reader*," designed for the use of the youngest children in schools: the "*Second Reader*:" the "*Third Reader*," for Common Schools and Academies: and the "*Fourth Reader*." In all these books, from the first to the last, one system is preserved—each book apart, as well as the series as a whole, being progressive: "not nominally, but really so; that is, beginning with the easiest reading in the language, the lessons continue to task the power of the pupil more and more to the end." It is not often that scholars, so able as Professor Mandeville, are willing to devote themselves to the labour of preparing elementary books—and we trust he will be amply rewarded.

(41.) THE advantages of what passes by the name of "Ollendorff's Method," in the study of languages, are now very generally recognized. The books prepared on this method, however, have not always been made simple enough for children, or even for more advanced pupils. To meet this want, Professor GREENE, of Brown University, has prepared a very neat little volume, entitled, "*First Lessons in French, introductory to Ollendorff's larger Grammar*." (New-York: D. Appleton & Co.: 18mo., pp. 138.) We have made personal trial of this book, and have no doubt that it is the best yet issued for beginners in French.

(42.) "*Heaven's Antidote to the Curse of Labour*, by JOHN ALLAN QUINTON," (New-York, S. Hueston, 1850: 18mo., pp. 155,) is the title of the essay to which the prize offered in England, in 1847, for the best essay on the Sabbath, by "a working man," was awarded by the committee of adjudication. Mr. Quinton, the writer, is a journeyman printer. The essay is remarkable for point, energy, and eloquence. It deserves, and we hope will secure, a wide circulation in this country.

(43.) "*Mitchell's Biblical and Sabbath-School Geography, designed for Instruction in Sabbath Schools and Bible Classes*:" (Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait, & Co., 1849: 12mo., pp. 122.) This book supplies, what has long been needed, a "concise and easy system of Scripture geography, moderate in extent and price." Four maps—the world, as known to the Jews; Canaan, Egypt, and the route of the Israelites; the land of Israel, with the boundaries of the twelve tribes; Palestine—well engraved and coloured, with a large number of wood-cuts, illustrate the text. A chronological table of the principal events recorded in the Bible concludes the work.

(44.) MESSRS. LEA & BLANCHARD (Philadelphia) continue the publication of the neat and cheap "Classical Series, edited by Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt," of which we have spoken several times before. The last issue is, "*Q. Curtii Rufi de Gestis Alexandri Magni, Regis Macedonum, libri qui Supersunt VIII.*:" (18mo., pp. 326.) All that has been said of the preceding volumes of the series will apply to this.

(45.) WE have seldom read *through* so large a book more rapidly and pleasantly, than "*The Life of Ashbel Green, V. D. M., begun to be written by himself in his eighty-second year, and continued to his eighty-fourth*. Prepared for the press by JOSEPH H. JONES, Pastor of the Sixth Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia." (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1849: 8vo., pp. 626.) The work is, in fact, not merely an autobiography of Dr. Green, but a very agreeable and gossiping narrative of Revolutionary times—and a history, to a great extent, of the origin of almost everything distinctive in the American Presbyterian Church. It was our purpose to give an extended article in this number founded on the book, but, much to our regret, it has been crowded out. Mr. Jones seems almost to apologize, in his preface, for giving so much of the "autobiography:" but, for us, that is precisely the charm of the work. As we purpose to return to it again, however, we need not say more at present.

(46.) THE finest and most *sensible* gift-book that we have seen for 1850, is "*Women of the Old and New Testament*." (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., royal 8vo.: pp. 229.) It consists of a series of portraits, (ideal, of course,) of eighteen of the principal female personages of Scripture, designed by Staal, and engraved in the finest style of the art, by eminent English Engravers,—accompanied by characteristic descriptions, by American Clergy-

men; among whom we notice Dr. Mason, Dr. Cox, Dr. Murray, and others. We put the engravings before the letter-press in our statement of the contents of the book, because it is clear that the text was written to illustrate the plates; and well it might be. Such plates deserve to be published, as these have been, in two hemispheres at once. The descriptions, as far as we have read them, are worthy of the beautiful accompaniments that surround them.

(47.) EVERYBODY has heard of "*Poor Richard's Almanac*," but few, of this generation, have seen it. A complete set has been obtained, with great effort, by Mr. Doggett, of this city, who proposes to publish them all, in almanacs, for successive years. That for 1850 is before us, containing a complete calendar, &c., for the year; and, for reading matter, *Poor Richard* for 1733, 1734, and 1735, with the beginning of Franklin's Autobiography illustrated.

(48.) WE have been greatly gratified with monthly visits, for the last quarter, from the "*Journal of Education for Upper Canada*," published at Toronto, and edited by Dr. Ryerson. It is conducted with great spirit and ability, and its pages abound in indications that the Common-School System is taking deep root in Upper Canada. We wish God-speed to the cause, and to this able Journal as its organ and exponent.

(49.) THE "*Pulpit Reporter*" is a newspaper, to be published every other week, (Holbrook, Buckingham, & Co., 128 Fulton-street, New-York: two dollars per annum,) containing Reports of Sermons, from living Ministers of different denominations, taken down stenographically. The first number contains four sermons, and a biographical sketch of Rev. G. Bush.

(50.) THE Exposition of the Four Gospels, (by the author of the "Peep of Day," &c.,) which has been so widely circulated under the title of "*Light in the Dwelling*," has been republished as "*The Four Gospels, arranged as a Practical Family Commentary for every day in the year, edited, with an Introductory Preface*, by S. H. TYNG, D.D." (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850: 8vo., pp. 548.) It breathes a very pious spirit, and will be very acceptable to families of Calvinistic sentiments. Dr. Tyng's name is put upon the back of the book in such a way as may, perhaps, lead careless observers to suppose that he is the author of the volume. We do not suppose that this was intended: but care ought to be taken to avoid even the appearance of mercantile management in getting out devotional books.

(51.) THE long and anxiously expected "*History of Spanish Literature*, by GEORGE TICKNOR," has at last appeared, from the press of Harper & Brothers. We can only now say that a careful review of this great work is in preparation for our April number.

(52.) "*Sketches of Reforms and Reformers in Great Britain and Ireland*, by HENRY B. STANTON," (New-York, J. Wiley: 12mo., pp. 393.) A work which combines the quick, lively, graphic style of writing, which this age loves so well, with sound discrimination and industrious research. We read all the sketches as they appeared in the "Era" with great pleasure and profit; and they are now retouched, condensed, and improved. The young men of our country, especially, should read it, and learn how real reforms are carried on and won.

(53.) "*The Whale and his Captors*," (New-York, Harper & Brothers: 18mo.,) is a very interesting account, by Rev. HENRY T. CHEEVER, of whalemens and their adventures, as seen by himself on a homeward cruise of the ship "Commodore Preble," with a great number of illustrative engravings. It is just the book to be both attractive and useful to children and youth.

ART. XL—MISCELLANIES.

[UNDER this title we purpose to publish, from time to time, short articles, either original, or selected from foreign journals, on topics of Biblical Literature and Theology. We shall also admit *letters* from any of our readers who may be disposed to question any statements of fact, doctrine, or interpretation found in the pages of this Journal. It must be obvious, however, that such letters must be *brief*.]

I.

Remarks on Ephesians iv, 12-16.

[By Professor Dunbar. From the Biblical Review for October, 1849.]

NONE of the commentators I have had an opportunity of consulting, appears to me to have rightly understood the meaning of the words in verse 13. The apostle evidently alludes to the period of *military service* among the Greeks, particularly the Athenians, and to the *time* when it commenced. Before that period the youths were under a state of tutelage and discipline to fit them for the service of their country. But I shall begin my remarks with the words of the 13th verse, *μέχρι καταστήσωμεν οἱ πάντες εἰς τὴν ἐνότητα κ.τ.λ.* The adverb *μέχρι*, denoting *time*, with a verb of motion or action, points to the *termination of the act*, and, with the *subjunctive of the aorist*, it implies that *the time is not fixed, but uncertain*. In the passage above, *μέχρι*, with the preposition *εἰς*, does not signify, "until all of us shall coalesce," but, *until all of us shall have met, or, arrived at the destined point*. The subjunctive of the aorist frequently requires to be translated as the *future perfect* of a Latin verb. The preposition *εἰς* does not always convey the meaning of *into*, but generally of *to* or *at*, when the end is reached. It may be remarked that Euclid uses this preposition when he directs a line to be drawn in an *oblique* or *slanting direction to, or upon another*, as in diagonal lines; and *ἐπὶ* when a line is let fall perpendicular upon another line. The verb *καταστήω* is scarcely ever used by any writer prior to Polybius. With him

it has generally the meaning of, *to tend to, to proceed to a certain end or result*, iv, 21; ii, 10, &c. It cannot, therefore, signify *to coalesce*. In the expressions, *εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον, εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, there appears to be a reference, as I have already stated, to the period of military service among the Greeks. The noun *ἡλικία*, never, so far as I know, signifies *stature*, but *the period of youth*, and also *of old age*, scarcely ever *of middle age*. It is often used by Demosthenes for the *period of military service*, commencing at the age of twenty: *ἐστὶ τίς ἐξω τῆς ἡλικίας ὑμῶν*; *is any of you beyond the age of military service?* (*Olynth.* ii, 38, § 10,) *οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ*, means those of an age for military service: So *Olynth.* 17, § 11, *φειδόμενοι οὔτε πρεσβυτέρας οὔτε νεωτέρας ἡλικίας*. See also *Thucyd.* vi, 24. Now, those who had arrived at that period of life were *τέλειοι ἄνδρες*, full-grown men, persons who had arrived at manhood. The expression *εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας*, therefore, means *to the standard of age*, just as we say of a recruit, *that he is above or below the standard*. The term *πληρώματος* also confirms the idea that the apostle had in view the military service of the Greeks. With the classical writers, particularly *Thucydides*, it means generally *the complement of a ship's crew, the completion or filling up of an armament*. These remarks will, I think, bring out the apostle's idea in a more satisfactory manner than has been done by any of the commentators, since he evidently intended to represent the Christian life as a *warfare*, under the great Head of the Church, and the preparatory fitting for entering on the service. The followers of Christ must be no longer *νήπιοι*, children, or, rather, *ignorant as children*, but, *full-grown men*, arrived at maturity, and therefore capable of exercising their judgments, and not *κλυδωνιζόμενοι καὶ περιφερόμενοι πάντι ἀνέμῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας κ.τ.λ.* I shall now give my translation of the 13th verse:—"Until we all shall have reached to the unity of the faith and the knowledge of the Son of God, to complete manhood, to the standard of age for the full service of Christ."

In verse 16, there is an allegorical representation of the body of Christ, or the Church, in the description of the human body arriving at maturity by support of its several members, *ἐξ οὗ (scil. Χριστοῦ) πᾶν τὸ σῶμα συναρμολογούμενον καὶ συμβιβάζόμενον, διὰ πάσης ἁφῆς τῆς ἐπιχορηγίας, κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἐν μέτρῳ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου μέρους, τὴν αὐξησιν τοῦ σώματος ποιεῖται, εἰς οἰκοδομὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐν ἀγάπῃ*. Our common translation is both erroneous and unintelligible. Most commentators seem to have made *ἐνὸς ἐκάστου μέρους* to be governed by *ἐν μέτρῳ*. This, however, is not the construction. They should follow *κατ' ἐνέργειαν*. Dr. Bloomfield in his annotation on the passage has given nearly the correct meaning:—"by the operation or working of each individual part or member, according to the measure (of its power.)" The term *οἰκοδομὴν* ought not to be taken in the *figurative sense of edifying*, but in the *literal of building up*. In conformity with these ideas I would translate the verse thus,—*From whom the whole body, being joined together and compacted, gives increase to the system (body) through every joint (ligature) for supply or nourishment, according to the efficient working of each separate part in its proportion (or degree,) to the building up of itself to maturity, in love; or, affection to all the members.*

II.

Remarks on Proverbs xxx, 15.—The Horse-Leech.

[From the Journal of Sacred Literature, July, 1848.]

THIS passage is well known for the perplexity it has occasioned to commentators, ancient and modern. The question is, what we are to understand by the "two daughters" of the leech, for there is no ground for the distinction of *species* introduced

into the English version. Heb. עֵלְקָה; Sept. Βόλλα; Vul. *Sanguisuga*. These two daughters cannot mean daughters in the sense of offspring, for the leech brings forth but one, of either sex, at a time. Every resource of criticism has been employed by Bochart,* who concludes by deriving the Hebrew word *alukah*, leech, from the Arabic *aluk*, which means *fate*, heavy misfortune, or impending destiny; whence he would infer that *alukah* here means the fate of death attached to every man by the decree of God, and explains its two insatiable daughters as signifying Hades and the grave. He endeavours to fortify this interpretation by some semblable terms of thought and language in the Scriptures and in modern use, and shows that it was adopted by the Rabbinical writers. The great objection to this solution is, that it involves a very unlikely mistake on the part of all the ancient translators, who unquestionably understood the *leech* to be meant, and which creature is appropriately introduced into the passage among other emblems of avarice and rapacity.

The solution we have to offer is, that the "two daughters" of the leech mean its two lips, for these it has, and most regularly formed, as the external parts of its complicated mouth. We found this explanation on those many instances in which the Hebrew word daughter is used in the sense of *instrument*, *process*, *adjunct*, or any conjunction whatever. In the well-known description of old age, (Ecc. xii, 4,) "and all the daughters of music," or rather of song, "shall be brought low," the word evidently refers to the lips, front teeth, and other instruments of pronunciation. The word daughter is also applied to the "apple of the eye," or pupil, (Ps. xvii, 8,) literally the daughter of the eye, in regard to its appearance as a protuberant portion of that organ, (compare the use of the Greek word κόρη, and of the Latin *pupa*, *pupilla*, and *pupula*.) It is also applied to the *branches* of trees: Gen. xlix, 22, "Joseph is a fruitful bough, whose branches," literally daughters, "run over the wall." The phrase, "daughters of cities," evidently means the excrescent villages or towns belonging to the metropolis or *mother* city, (Num. xxi, 25, 32; Judges xi, 26; Josh. xv, 45: Heb.) The analogical sense of the word might be pursued, as it appears in the various derivative senses of the word בֵּן, a son, such as a *structure*. It occurs in several Arabic words. Nor is it without a distant resemblance even in our own language, as for instance in the word *keelson*, the next piece of timber in a ship to her keel.

Should this explanation of the "two daughters of the leech" be correct, it will afford one case out of many of the utility of an immediate examination of nature in aid of Biblical interpretation. This obvious method has hitherto been neglected in regard to the *ant*, among other objects, and with reference to a passage found in the same chapter, (v. 25,) and which, in our translation, apparently favours the old and now exploded notion, at least in regard to the ants of this country, that the ant lays up stores of food. The question in regard, however, to the ants of Palestine is still left open to the diffidence expressed by Kirby and Spence, respecting the inference that *no* exotic ants have *magazines* of provisions, till their habits shall have been "more accurately explored."† For of all the persons who, in this age of improvements in science, have visited or resided in Palestine, we have not yet heard of any who has had the curiosity to test the question by examining an ant's nest during the winter.

* *Hieroicozon*, à Rosenmüller, iii, 758, &c.

† Introduction to Entomology, ii, 46.

III.

*An Attempt to Explain Romans ix, 3.**"For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ," &c.*

[From the Journal of Sacred Literature, October, 1849.]

CONSIDERABLE ambiguity rests on this passage in our version of the New Testament. The superficial reader is apt to regard the apostle as giving utterance to a sentiment from which every Christian mind must recoil, and which is only calculated to fill it with horror,—that for the sake of the salvation of his people he would be content to be separated from Christ, and consigned to eternal reprobation. With regard to such a sentiment, we do not say too much when we affirm, that even supposing we could find no principle of criticism which would give the words a different sense, we should be justified in rejecting it as being alien to every holy emotion in the Christian heart, and opposed to the entire spirit of the Christian religion.

The original words are, *Ἡχόμην γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. It is not my purpose to examine the different opinions regarding the sense of this passage, but it may not be improper to glance briefly at one or two of them. The view of those who would translate the word *Ἡχόμην*, "I did wish," has no foundation in sound exegesis. It is manifest the Apostle speaks of his immediate feelings. Besides, there are other insuperable objections to this rendering.

Nor is the view of Dr. Waterland, as quoted by Doddridge, much more tenable, who would give to the words the following rendering,—*Made an anathema after the example of Christ*. The sense put upon *ἀπὸ* in this rendering is supported by a reference to *ἀπὸ τῶν προγονῶν*, (2 Tim. i, 3.) But this solitary reference is not sufficient to establish the rendering, as the expression in Timothy might be translated, with equal propriety, *according to the religion or system of my forefathers*.

Grotius understands the word *Χριστοῦ* as meaning the Church of Christ. According to his view, the expression *ἀνάθεμα ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* has the sense of "being excommunicated or separated from the fellowship of the Christian Church." This view, however, does not seem to agree well with the drift of the Apostle's argument; for we cannot perceive any connexion between his zeal for the salvation of the house of Israel and separation from the Church of Christ. The train of thought in his mind would not naturally have suggested such a declaration. Besides, the philological ground is not sufficient to support such an interpretation. The only instance, so far as I know, of the word *Χριστός* being used in the sense of the Church of Christ is that in 1 Cor. xii, 12; but this is not sufficient authority to ground an interpretation upon, especially when the words are capable of a sense more in harmony with the argument of the writer. The whole ambiguity turns upon the sense we put upon the words *ἀνάθεμα* and *ἀπὸ*. That the word *ἀνάθεμα* means "accursed," in a spiritual sense, cannot be questioned; but it has a secondary meaning no less certain,—that of being devoted to destruction or death. This is the sense given in certain passages to the Hebrew word *קִרְיָה* by the LXX. See Lev. xxvii, 28; Job vi, 17, 18; Josh. vii, 1, where the word *קִרְיָה* is rendered by the word *ἀνάθεμα*. The term is not of frequent occurrence in the New Testament; and in the few instances in which it does occur, it has a modification of meaning determined by the connexion, somewhat different from that given above; but its usage in the Septuagint is sufficient ground for our taking it, in the passage under consideration, in the sense referred to.

I am aware that the authority of Chrysostom has been cited as against this interpretation: *Εἰ τοῦτο ἔλεγε, πῶς ἀνάθεμα ἑαυτὸν ᾔχετο εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ; ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος θάνατος μᾶλλον τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνῆπτε χορῶ, καὶ τῇς δόξης ἀπολαύειν ἐκείνης ἐποιεῖ*—"If he meant so, (to be devoted to death or martyrdom,) how could he wish himself to be separated (ἀνάθεμα) from Christ? for such a death would rather have brought him into more intimate fellowship with Christ, and to the enjoyment of the felicity belonging to such a state." Much weight, it is true, is due to the authority of this ancient writer; but the force of the above passage rests on a misconception of the meaning of the expression ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, an expression which I hope to be able to show is capable of a very different sense from that in the mind of Chrysostom.

The connexion seems also to confirm the view, that by the expression ἀνάθεμα the apostle had in his mind the idea of temporal destruction, more especially that which appears in the form of persecution and martyrdom. He had just spoken of the trials to which the primitive preachers of the gospel were exposed, "tribulation, persecution, famine, nakedness, peril, or sword;" and it was exceedingly natural for him, in expressing his ardent affection for his "kinsmen according to the flesh," harmonizing with the train of thought in his mind, and arising naturally out of it, to express how willing he should be to submit to all the calamities he had referred to, could he in any way promote the salvation of his people. The sense of the expression ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ remains still to be determined. There are not wanting, I am well aware, in the New Testament, many passages, in which the preposition ἀπὸ denotes the *efficient cause*, (see Matt. xi, 19; xvi, 21; Mark viii, 31; Luke xvii, 25, and in many other instances.) According to this view, the Apostle affirms that he could wish himself to be made an ἀνάθεμα by Christ for his kinsmen according to the flesh. But there is something harsh in the idea of Christ as the direct author of the sufferings of his servants. I cannot but think the words capable, therefore, of a meaning more in accordance with the general views presented in Scripture of the benevolent character of the author of Christianity, and equally accordant with the genius of the language. The words ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ I would translate as meaning separation from the work of Christ, removed from his service. This would retain the original conception belonging to the particle ἀπὸ, which is that of *from*, (e. g. Xen. *Anab.* i, 2, 5,) *Κῦρος ὡρᾶτο ἂΠΙΟ Σάρδεων*. This view is strengthened by the words of the Apostle, (Phil. i, 2:) "For me to live is Christ," that is, to live would bring him the happiness of serving Christ, and promoting his cause. We may therefore suppose the Apostle as declaring, in the passage in question, that, in order to promote the salvation of his people, he was willing to undergo any amount of suffering, involving even death itself, and consequently the suspension of his labours, his entire removal from the service of his Master, in which he so much delighted. Thus the sacrifice he was ready to make was twofold,—the sacrifice of his life, and the sacrifice of the enjoyment connected with the service of his Divine Master. If this view be taken of the passage, it greatly enhances the intensity and force of the language.

The writer of these remarks is not aware that the view he has taken of the latter part of the Apostle's words has ever been propounded before. He presents it with great diffidence, his main object being to elicit inquiry. Should he be the means of stirring up any of his brethren in Christ to resolve more successfully this or any other Scripture difficulty, he will rejoice in the thought that his labour has not been in vain in the Lord.

ART. XII.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Great Britain.

WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH.—The expulsion of the Rev. Messrs. Dunn, Everett, and Griffith, has given rise to a widely extended agitation in the Wesleyan Methodist Societies in England. Those gentlemen are holding meetings almost nightly in the various circuits, and seem to find no lack of auditors. It is plain, however, even from the statements contained in the *WESLEYAN TIMES*, (the organ of the agitators,) that a large part of the numbers who attend these meetings are made up of the various branches of seceders from Methodism, and of Dissenters, especially Independents. The newspapers in the Dissenting interest show much favour to the movement, and hope for great accessions to the Anti-State-Church party of the kingdom, from the disaffected ranks of Wesleyan Methodism. Now, we have no hesitation in expressing our own regret, that the Wesleyan Methodist Church forms, or seems to form, one of the buttresses of the Establishment. The quasi union, natural when the Methodists merely formed a society within the Church of England, is unnatural and anomalous, now that there is a *WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH* in England. Yet we cannot see how Christian men and Christian ministers should rejoice, or even appear to rejoice, over agitation and tumult in a sister Church, merely from a distant hope that good might result from it. It is not thus that true reforms grow. It is hard to say towards what point the expelled ministers and their friends are aiming; nor do they appear, as yet, to know themselves. It is hinted at one time, that a General Convention of Wesleyans must be called; at another, that memorials, asking for the restoration of the three expelled, and for certain changes in the Conference system, must be sent up to the next Conference from every quarter of the Connexion; at a third, that there must be a general demand for lay representation in the Conference; at a fourth, that the powers of the district meetings must be greatly enlarged, and a lay power fully recognized in them, &c., &c. Among the weapons of the malcontents, the one most commonly used, if not the most efficacious, is, the charge of mismanagement of the affairs of the Missionary Society; of excessive salaries, loose expenditure of money, &c. Our own reading of their newspapers (and we have spent more

time on them than we could well spare) satisfies us, that for these charges there is little or no ground. They catch so anxiously and nervously at trifles, they dwell so fondly on a chance mistake of a few pounds, or even of a few pence,—in a word, they show so many of the unmistakable signs of *swift witnesses*, that their testimony is sadly at fault, even without a cross-examination. In the mean time, these charges are met, for the present, by simple denials on the part of the Missionary Secretaries: but it is announced, that the lay gentlemen who compose the Missionary Committee of Review are shortly to be gathered, from all parts of the kingdom, to make a close and rigid scrutiny of all the affairs of the Mission House. We need not say that we are abundantly confident of the result of such an investigation. The closer it may be, the more surely will the probity of the eminent Christian ministers, who have managed so long, so much to the advantage of the cause of missions, and to the glory of God, the Wesleyan Missionary Society's operations, be displayed before all men. The columns of the *WATCHMAN* (the Conference organ) continue to be occupied, to a great extent, with defences of the proceedings of the Conference in the expulsion of Messrs. Dunn, Everett, and Griffith; and batch after batch of pamphlets appears, on both sides of the question. Nothing that we have read, as yet, has changed the original aspects of the case. Its merits seem to us to lie in a nut-shell—at least for American modes of thinking and feeling. We cannot defend the proceedings of the Conference. Palliations and provocations we can imagine, in abundance; but, after all, the principle remains. The three brethren were expelled without shown proof of guilt. We wish it had not been done.

To show in what light the recent difficulties are viewed by one portion of that very Church toward which the Wesleyans are so tender, we quote the following notice of Dr. Jackson's "Vindication of the Conference," from the *Christian Remembrancer* (High Church) for October:—

"To complain of being shackled by the rules of a voluntary association is the perfection of folly.' Quite so; and were this all, and were Mr. Jackson simply content to allow his Society, the Methodist body,

the very intelligible *status* which these extracts from his pamphlet point at—the Benefit Club or the Voluntary Association—there would not be a word to say further. The ‘Vindication’ is complete; any voluntary association, the United Service Club, the Mechanics’ Institute, the Community of Odd Fellows, has a perfect and unquestionable right to get rid of its obnoxious members; for any reason, or even for no reason. It is simply the ‘greatest happiness principle.’ It is pleasanter to the one hundred and ninety-nine to be without the two-hundredth. But then when Mr. Jackson begins to talk of ‘discipline,’ and ‘ecclesiastical censure,’ an entirely separate class of considerations enters into the field. Societies, being extra-judicial institutions, may very reasonably act in an extra-judicial way; and if the question be asked—as it has been—Would not John Wesley himself have examined the then suspected preachers, and have dismissed them, just as the Conference of 1849 has done? We answer, that it is quite beyond belief that he would have done otherwise. But then John Wesley did not call his societies a Church—he did not talk of his preachers as any order of the Christian ministry—they were simply to ‘help me,’ ‘to serve me as sons,’ to ‘labour when and where I should direct.’ Wesley claimed, and that openly, the ‘power of admitting into, and excluding from, the societies under his care.’ So that what John Wesley would have done with his preachers or helpers who ‘engaged themselves to submit, to serve him as sons in the gospel,’ is no very direct precedent for the proceedings of the Wesleyan Conference now. In Wesley’s time, 1766, one of the questions to ‘his preachers’ was, ‘Do you constantly attend the Church and sacrament?’ In 1849 all these preachers themselves administer sacraments, and affect to do the whole work of the Christian ministry. ‘My societies’ have become ‘the Wesleyan Church:’—my ‘helpers’ and ‘preachers’ are now, in their own estimate, bishops and priests, (in America,) and priests in England. Mr. Jackson must therefore take his choice: Wesleyanism cannot at once be a voluntary society, and a true branch of the Christian Church, perfect in its economy, perfect in its ministry, perfect in its discipline. If its defender is content always to argue upon the very rational principles of his present pamphlet, thus:—Messrs Everett, Dunn, and Griffiths were not what Johnson used to call *clubable* men, therefore we have dismissed them from our club—we quite accept this account of the matter: it is quite sufficient: he comes down from his transcendentalism. But if Mr. Jackson puts the matter as one of ecclesiastical right, it must be judged by canonical precedent: it is a matter of law. The Church would not have tried these three suspected ‘ministers’ in the way which the Conference adopted.”—P. 492.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—The clergy of

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the Established Church, of all parties, manifest great anxiety as to the final decision of the Baptismal Regeneration question. The general current of opinion seems to be, that the judgment of Sir H. J. Fust will be confirmed; and in view of the possibility of such a result, it is asserted, by the *Christian Times*, as a fact that may be depended upon, that the “leading evangelical clergymen are in mutual communication, with a view to an organization of the Evangelical party, so as to be prepared for all contingencies.” The names of Archdeacon Law and of Mr. Goode are mentioned as “among those who strongly counsel the taking of some action, with a view to ascertaining the mind of the Evangelical clergy at large on the prospects lying before them. Mr. Law’s high reputation for piety in the diocese of his late father, and Mr. Goode’s intimate connexion with the Archbishop of Canterbury, will give great weight to any measure which they may approve or disapprove.”

As a specimen of the way in which pecuniary emoluments are accumulated in the hands of even what is called the *best* class of men in the Church of England, take the following case. The Rev. Dr. OLLIVANT, late Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, has recently been nominated to the bishopric of Llandaff; and, in consequence, the following appointments held by him become vacant:—

“The Regius Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge, value about £800 yearly, in the gift of the University, and to which Dr. Ollivant was appointed in 1843; a canonry in the cathedral church of St. David’s, to which he was appointed in 1826, value £60 per annum; a prebendal stall in the collegiate church of Brecon, to which he was appointed in 1830, value £100 per annum; and the rectory of Somersham, Huntingdonshire, to which he was appointed in 1843; this benefice, which is worth £1,770 per annum, is annexed to the Regius Professorship of Divinity at the University of Cambridge. The new bishop was for some years Vice-President of St. David’s College, Lampeter, and is a good Welsh scholar, although an Englishman by birth.”

IRELAND.—Three or four years ago a sort of secret organization was formed, for the purpose of sending agents into every part of Ireland, with special instructions “to address themselves with simplicity, but with boldness, to the Roman Catholics, of a class which had hitherto been almost entirely neglected—shop-keepers and farmers, and persons in that rank of life. The object was two-fold:—first, quietly to convey the knowledge of

the gospel wherever it could be dropped within the reach of those who had never heard it; and, secondly, with equal quietness, to obtain an accurate knowledge of the real state of feeling amongst that class of Romanists. For this purpose, the chosen agents were to assume a mysterious independence, answering all inquiries as to their motives and their employers, by referring generally to the religious duty imposed upon every man to impart the religious knowledge he possesses to those who have it not. They were directed to make constant reports, entering minutely into details of facts, and stating the opinions expressed by those with whom they conversed." These agents were sent forth, two and two, and have continued their labours from that time to this, with marked success, as we learn from a collection of extracts from their

Reports, recently printed. One feature of the scheme, "the mysterious independence," seems to us objectionable, as likely to lead to prevarication or guile: but we may misunderstand the case. Out of the organization referred to has arisen a *Society for Church (i. e. Episcopal) Missions to the Roman Catholics of Ireland*, which is now in active operation. One of the most striking indications of a change for good in that country is the statement, (unconnected entirely with the movements of the Society above mentioned,) that "lately, within the limits of one month, the Lord Bishop of Tuam confirmed no less than nine hundred converts from Popery in the west of Ireland. This should lead the people of God everywhere to thank God and take courage, and to pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth labourers for his harvest."

Home.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—The Minutes for the past year show an increase of members and probationers amounting to *twenty-three thousand two hundred and forty-nine*; and of preachers, travelling and local, to the number of one hundred and six.—The first Theological Seminary of the Methodist Episcopal Church (at Concord, N. H.) seems now to be securely established. The late anniversary (Nov. 10) was largely attended by ministers of the New-York and the several New-England Conferences, and universal satisfaction with the Seminary was expressed. There are now forty students,—a larger number than will be found upon the lists of some of the oldest theological seminaries in the country. It will be remembered that this institution does not propose to prepare students for a call to the ministry; but only to train students in the ministry, who have already received the call of the Spirit and of the Church. Its arrangements are such that *no debt* can be accumulated; and the friends of the school are endeavouring to endow three professorships adequately. No charge is made for tuition.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—We regret to say that the condition of the Episcopal Church in America seems to be daily becoming more painful and uneasy. One would hardly think it possible that Bishop Ives and Bishop M'ILVAINE could be office-bearers in the same communion. The unhappy relations between the former and the clergy of his diocese are well known. As for the Puseyite priests in general, one

hardly knows whether to consider any of them as other than Papists, holding on to their connexion with a Protestant Church merely for convenience sake, or, perhaps, in the hope of *unprotestantizing* her; a work in which many of them, unblushingly, avow themselves to be engaged. The most recent development is the apostacy of Rev. JOHN MURRAY FORBES, late Rector of St. Luke's Church in New-York, who sent in his letter of withdrawal on the 21st November last, declaring it to be his "deep and conscientious conviction," that duty to God required of him to unite himself to the "one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church in communion with the See of Rome." It would be a blessing, indeed, to the Episcopal Church, if all who *think* with Mr. Forbes would follow him *at once*. We have understood, since the above paragraph was written, that Mr. PRESTON, late Dr. Seabury's assistant, *has* followed Dr. Forbes already.

GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH.—At the meeting of the Eastern Synod of the German Reformed Church, held at Norristown, Pa., (Oct. 11-19, 1849,) a clear proof was given of the strong impression which the able and indefatigable men of Mercersburg have made upon that body. Our readers are perhaps aware that the use of a liturgy is authorized in the German Reformed Church, but that for many years there has been no well-established usage on the subject. The Liturgy in use was held by many to be radically defective, and others again would use no liturgy at all. At the Synodical meeting

referred to a series of resolutions were adopted, of which the following is given (in the *Mercersburg Review*) as the substance :

"1. That the use of liturgical forms falls in clearly with the practice and genius of the original Protestant Church ; 2. That no reason exists in the state of the present American German Church, to justify a departure from this ancient usage ; 3. That the liturgy now authorized is inadequate to the wants of the Church, as, apart from other defects, it makes no provision for ordinary occasions of public worship ; 4. That while the older Reformed Liturgies are, in general, worthy of adoption, there is still need of various modifications to adapt them fully to

our circumstances and wants ; 5. That the present time is as favourable for new action in the case, as any that can be anticipated hereafter ; 6. That it is expedient, accordingly, to proceed forthwith in the business of providing a new liturgy."

The whole liturgical question is thus thrown open for discussion.

UNITARIANS.—The Unitarian Congregational Manual for 1850, estimates the number of Unitarian churches in the United States at 245. Of these 165 are in Massachusetts, leaving 80 for all the other States. Of the 80, 28 are in Maine and New-Hampshire, leaving 52 churches for the other 27 States of the Union.

ART. XIII.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Theological.

EUROPEAN.

WE have received the second Leipsic edition of Tischendorf's Greek Testament. The full title is, "*Novum Testamentum Græce, ad antiquos testes recensuit, apparatus criticum multis modis auctum et correctum apposuit, commentationem isagogicam præmisit* CONSTANTINUS TISCHENDORF." (Leipzig, Winter, 1849. 12mo., pp. xcvi, 768.) In the *Prolegomena*, Tischendorf gives an account of his personal labours in the collation of ancient MSS., of the critical apparatus employed, and of the principles on which he has proceeded in the recension of the text. He treats also of the order of the books of the New Testament, of the forms of certain proper names, and gives an account of the various editions of the New Testament, by Elzevir, Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, Murlatus, Bornemann, (Acts,) and Tregelles, (Apoc.) Then follows a copious *Index Subsidiarum Criticorum*, containing an account, in order, of the codices, versions, works of the Fathers, &c., used in preparing his text. Without intending to characterize the edition with any minuteness, we mention it as one of the most valuable contributions to the criticism of the text of the New Testament that has been made for many years.

Dr. Davidson has issued the second volume of his "*Introduction to the New Testament*," extending from the Acts to the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians.

The last volume of Chalmers' Posthumous Works has now been issued, under the title, "Prelections on Butler's Analogy,

Paley's Evidences of Christianity, and Hill's Lectures in Divinity ; with two Introductory Lectures, and four Addresses, delivered in the New College, Edinburgh."

Such of our readers as are acquainted with the life and writings of Samuel Drew, will remember that he prepared his elaborate treatise on the Being and Attributes of God, in competition for a theological premium of £1,200, offered according to the will of a gentleman, deceased. The decision was announced in August, 1815, and Mr. Drew was unsuccessful ; the first premium being adjudged to Dr. William L. Brown, Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, and the second to John Bird Sumner, M. A., of Eton, (now Archbishop of Canterbury.) According to the terms of the will, this prize is to be offered at intervals of forty years, forever—the fund allotted to it being amply adequate. The trustees of the fund have therefore recently issued the following announcement, which we publish for the benefit of American writers who may feel disposed to grapple with the subjects named.

"*Theological Premiums*.—A gentleman, deceased, left by his Deed of Settlement a considerable fund to be applied by his Trustees, at intervals of 40 years from 1774, in the payment of Two Premiums for the best Treatises on the following subject :—

"The Evidence that there is a Being, all Powerful, Wise, and Good, by whom everything exists ; and particularly to obviate difficulties regarding the wisdom and goodness of the Deity : and this, in the first place, from considerations independent of Written Revelation ; and in the second place, from

the Revelation of the Lord Jesus; and from the whole to point out the inferences most necessary for, and useful to mankind.'

"The amount of the fund to be so applied cannot be less, at any period, than £1,600, and, as nearly as can be ascertained, it will, on occasion of the next competition, be about £2,400. Three-fourths of the fund divisible at each period are appointed, by the terms of the bequest, to be paid to the author of the treatise which shall be found by the judges, to be named as aftermentioned, to possess the most merit; and the remaining fourth to the author of the treatise which, in the opinion of the said judges, shall be next in merit to the former, 'after deducting therefrom the expense of printing and binding 300 copies of each of the said treatises, or of purchasing 300 printed copies thereof, as the said trustees shall direct, to be distributed by them among such persons to whom they shall think the same will prove most useful, or in any other manner that they shall judge proper.'

"The Ministers of the Established Church of Aberdeen, the Principals and Professors of King's and Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen, and the Trustees of the Testator, are appointed to nominate and make choice of three judges, who are to decide agreeably to certain rules prescribed in the Deed of Settlement upon the comparative merits of such treatises as shall be laid before them; and it may be proper to mention that, to discourage mean performances, the judges are empowered (if unanimous only) to find none of the treatises produced of sufficient merit to entitle the writers to the premiums. The trustees, however, believe that in the present state of the literary world this is a contingency which can scarcely occur.

"The time allowed by the Testator for the composition of the treatises for the next periodical competition extends to the 1st of January, 1854; and his trustees do now intimate, in compliance with his appointment, that those who shall become competitors for the said prizes must transmit their treatises to Alex. and John Webster, Advocates, in Aberdeen, agents of the trustees, in time to be with them on or before the said 1st day of January, 1854, as none can be received after that date; and they must be sent free of all expense to the trustees.

"The judges will then, without delay, proceed to examine and decide upon the comparative merits of such treatises as shall be laid before them; and the trustees will, at the first term of Whitsunday after the determination of the judges, pay the premiums to the successful candidates, agreeably to the will of the Testator.

"As it tends much to an impartial decision that the names of the authors should be concealed from the judges, the trustees request that the treatises may not be in the hand-writing of their respective authors, nor have their names annexed to them. Each treatise must be distinguished by a peculiar

motto; this motto must be written on the outside of a sealed letter, containing the author's name and his address, and sent along with his performance. The names of the successful candidates only shall be known by opening their letters. The other letters shall be destroyed unopened. The writers of the unsuccessful treatises may afterwards have them returned, by applying to Messrs. Webster, or the trustees, and by mentioning only the motto they may have assumed.

"Letters addressed as above, post-paid, will meet with due attention; and it will save much trouble in answering inquiries, to announce that there is no restriction imposed as to the length of the treatises.

"Aberdeen, September 18, 1849."

We continue our notices of the contents and tendencies of the principal European theological journals:—

The *Biblical Review*, (London: Jackson & Walford, three shillings *sterling* per number.)

Art. I., on the "Inspiration of the Apocalypse," treats, with much judgment, of inspiration in general, and then gives the evidence, both external and internal, in favour of the genuineness and inspiration of the Apocalypse. Art. II. is a translation of Dr. Bähr's remarks on Mark ix, 49, 50, the same of which a modified translation, (begun before this appeared,) is offered to our own readers in this number. Art. III. is on Swedenborg's Science of Correspondences, and is not marked by any special ability. Art. IV. is a Review, somewhat pungent, of Etheridge's "Syrian Churches, and his Translation of the Peschito." Art. V., "Studies of First Principles." Art. VI. gives a translation, from Gersdorf's Repertorium of Tischendorf's notice of his new edition of the Greek Testament. Art. VII. is on the "Teaching of Christ respecting Oaths," founded on an investigation of Matt. v. 33-37. Art. VIII., Miscellaneous Biblical Criticisms. Art. X., Extracts from Lange's Life of Christ: besides correspondence, critical notices, &c.

The *Journal of Sacred Literature* (Kitto's, five shillings per number) contains the following articles:—I., a review, very commendatory, yet discriminating, of Tischendorf's new edition of the Greek Testament, by S. P. Tregelles. II., a translation of the Introduction to Keil's Commentary on Joshua, by Dr. Davies. III., the Chronology of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah, by Rev. Daniel Kerr, M.A. IV., an Essay on the Hyssop of Scripture, reprinted from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. V., on Inferential Reasoning from the Silence of Scripture. VI., Pascal's Conception of

the Peculiar Essence of Christianity, translated from the German of Neander. VII., a Comment on St. Luke's Preface to his Gospel, by J. Von Gumpach, aiming at a critical revision of the authorized version. VIII., Observations on the Tenses of the Hebrew Verb, by Rev. D. H. Weir, M. A. IX., Thoughts on the Literary Character of David. X., a review of Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament, Vol. II. XI., a review of Alexander's Commentary on Isaiah: besides Miscellanea and Correspondence.

The only theological articles in the *Christian Remembrancer* for October, are the following, viz.:—"English Hymnology, its History and Prospects," the writer of which remarks, in regard to the Wesleyan Collection, that: "it may be doubted whether any of the original Hymns included in this book could possibly, and by any change, be included in an English Hymnology!" "Cathedrals and Cathedral Institutions," a sad recital, by one of the family too, of the abuses of the English Church Establishment; the writer asserting, among other things, that if any one, conversant with the names and family connexions of the English bishops during the last thirty years, should cast his eye over the present occupants of the prebendal stalls, he would see reason to suspect that Episcopal patronage had been dispensed on grounds of consanguinity rather than of merit. There is also a review of "Williams' Holy City," vindicating the topographical views of that work against Dr. Robinson, and all the world besides.

The contents of the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, for October, are as follows:—I. On the "Conception of the Great Spirit, entertained by the Wild Indians of North America;" an elaborate article of nearly seventy pages, exhausting, one would think, the entire literature of the subject. II. "Contributions to the Exposition of the Prophet Amos," with special regard to Baur's "Prophet Amos." III. Exegetical Remarks on Gal. iii, 13, and on Heb. xiii, 13-23, by Dr. Bähr, of Carlsruhe. IV. "Was the Epistle to the Ephesians directed to the Church at Ephesus?" by W. F. Rinck, who answers the question in the affirmative. V. An article by Ullmann, on the third edition of his "Essence of Christianity." VI. "Antichrist, or the Spirit of Sect," by Dr. Nevin, of Marshall College; being a translation of his work with that title published some months ago in this country.

The only articles at all theological in the

British Quarterly (Congregational) for October, are, the first,—Savonarola and his Times; the third, Stowell on the Holy Spirit; the fifth, the Unity of Mankind, as shown by Ethnology; and the ninth, a review of Dr. Vaughan's "Age and Christianity."

Messrs. Longmans have recently published a treatise on "Church and Chapel Architecture, from the earliest period to the present time, with an account of the Hebrew Church; together with an Appendix, and one thousand authenticated Mouldings, selected from the best examples which this country contains, by Andrew Trimen, Architect," in which an attempt is made to bring back modern ecclesiastical architecture to "the religious principles of the middle ages." Mr. Trimen, we believe, is a Wesleyan. Gothic architecture seems to be superseding all other among our Wesleyan friends in England.

The "Patriarchal Age," republished some time ago, by Messrs. Lane & Scott, New-York, constituted Vol. I. of "Sacred Annals." The second volume has just been issued in London, by Messrs. Longmans, under the title of "*The History and Religion of the Hebrew People*, from the Origin of the Nation to the Time of Christ; forming Vol. II. of 'Sacred Annals; or, Researches into the History and Religion of Mankind.' By George Smith, F. A. S., Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, of the Royal Society of Literature, of the Irish Archaeological Society, &c.; author of 'Perilous Times,' and 'The Religion of Ancient Britain.' 8vo." We have not yet received a copy.

The attacks of Messrs. Everett, Dunn, and Griffith upon the Wesleyan Conference have given birth to a number of pamphlets in defence of that body. We give the titles of the most important:—I. The Wesleyan Conference, its Duties and Responsibilities, with a Vindication of its recent Acts of Discipline; by the Rev. Thomas Jackson, President of the Conference. 8vo., price 6d.:—II. Exposure of Misrepresentations and Falsehoods in the Speeches delivered in Exeter Hall, by Messrs. Everett, Dunn, and Griffith, on Friday, August 31st. 12mo., price 1d.:—III. Letters on Recent Decisions of the Wesleyan Conference, by the Rev. John Lomas, Jacob Stanley, Sen., and I. H. 12mo., price 1d.:—IV. Opinions of the Press respecting the Recent Expulsion of Messrs. Everett, Dunn, and Griffith. 12mo., price 1d.:—V. Further Thoughts on certain Recent Deci-

sions of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference, in a Second Letter to a Friend; by the Rev. John Lomas. 12mo., price 1d.:—VI. A Dialogue between Two Wesleyan Methodists, on the present Agitations of Messrs. Everett, Dunn, and Griffith. 12mo., price 1d.:—VII. Letters, by T. Garland, Esq., to a Friend, and by the Rev. Jacob Stanley, Sen., to R. S. Stanley, Esq. 12mo., price 1d.:—VIII. The Misrepresentations and Falsehoods of the "Fly Sheets" Exposed, with Remarks on the Attempts to Agitate the Wesleyan Societies; by the Rev. Joseph Hargreaves.

Among the works in Theology and kindred subjects, recently announced as published or in press in London, are the following:—

The Certain Truth, the Science and the Authority of the Scriptural Chronology, by W. Cunninghame, Esq., 8vo.:—The Greek Testament, with a critically revised Text, a Digest of various Readings, Marginal References to Verbal and Idiomatic Usage, Prolegomena, and a copious Critical and Exegetical Commentary in English, by Henry Alford, M. A., Vol. I., thick 8vo.:—The Bond of Perfectness, chiefly as Explained and Illustrated in the Thirteenth Chapter of First Corinthians; by the Rev. H. Verschoyle, A. M., fcp. 8vo.:—Letters and Memoir of the late Walter Augustus Shirley, D. D., Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man, edited by Thomas Hill, B. D., Archdeacon of Derby. 8vo.:—A Memoir of the late Rev. Henry W. Fox, Missionary in South India. Post 8vo.:—The Modern Missionary, as exemplified in a Narrative of the Life and Labours of the late Rev. Edward Cook, in Great Namacqualand, &c., South Africa; compiled from his Journal, Letters, &c.; by his Brother. 12mo.:—The History of Wesleyan Methodism in the Isle of Man, with some Account of the Island, and of the Life and Labours of Bishop Wilson, in a Series of Letters, addressed to the Rev. Geo. Marsden, by James Rosser:—The Class-Leader's Manual; being Letters addressed to a Class-Leader on all Matters relating to his Office, by Henry Fish, M. A. 18mo.:—The Great Redemption, an Essay on the Mediatorial System; by Rev. Wm. Leask, author of "The Footsteps of Messiah," &c., &c. 8vo.:—The Word of God, its Importance and its Power; by the Hon. and Rev. H. Montague Villiers, M. A. 12mo.:—Israel and the Gentiles, Contributions to the History of the Jews, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day; by Dr. Isaac Da Costa, of Amsterdam. Post 8vo.:—The Morning of Joy; by the Rev. Horatius Bonar. 18mo.:—Tetraphonon; or, the Perfect Harmony of the Four Gospels, deduced from the Character, and the particular object in View of their respective Writers; by Dr. Isaac Da Costa, of Amsterdam:—Inspiration in Con-

flict with Recent Forms of Philosophy and Skepticism; the Lecture delivered at the opening of the United Presbyterian Divinity Hall, Session 1849; by John Eadie, LL.D. Second edition, 12mo.:—The Discourses and Sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ, illustrated in a Series of Expositions; by John Brown, D. D., author of "Expository Lectures on First Peter," &c., &c. In three large vols., 8vo.:—Daily Scripture Illustrations; being Original Readings for a Year on Subjects from Sacred History, Biography, Geography, Antiquities, and Theology; by John Kitto, D. D., editor of "The Pictorial Bible," "Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature," &c., &c. 4 vols., 8vo.; to be published quarterly:—A Memoir of the late Richard Winter Hamilton, LL.D., D. D.; by Professor W. H. Stowell, of Rotheram College. 8vo.:—The Work of the Spirit; by Wm. Hendry Stowell; being the Congregational Lecture, Fourteenth Series. 8vo.:—Three Essays on the Re-Union and Recognition of Christians Hereafter; by John Sheppard. Fcp. 8vo.:—Letter and Spirit; a Discourse on Modern Philosophical Spiritualism in its Relation to Christianity; delivered in Sheffield, October 9, 1849, by Robert Vaughan, D. D. Fcp. 8vo.:—The Life of John Calvin, compiled from Authentic Sources, and particularly from his Correspondence; by Thomas H. Dyer, Esq. 8vo.:—The Respective Peculiarities in the Creeds of the Mahometan and the Hindu which stand in the Way of Conversion to the Christian Faith, an Essay which obtained Sir Peregrine Maitland's Prize for the Year 1848; by Ernest Frederick Fiske, M. A., of Emanuel College. 8vo.:—Scriptural Communion with God; or, the Pentateuch and the Book of Job, arranged in Historical and Chronological Order, newly divided into Sections for daily reading, with Introductions and Notes; by Rev. G. Townsend, D. D. In 2 large vols., 8vo., (with Indexes.)

Among the publications in Theological Literature for the past year, on the continent, are the following:—

Dr. H. Andr. Chr. Hävernicks, Prof. zu Königsberg, Handbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das alte Testament. III. Thl., ausgearbeitet von Dr. C. Fr. Keil, ord. Prof. d. Theol. an der Univ. zu Dorpat. Erlangen, 1849. 519 pp. 8vo.

Daniel le prophète, exposé dans une suite de leçons pour une école du dimanche (par L. Gäussen.) Tom. III. Paris, 1849. 8vo.

S. Ignatii patris apostolici quæ feruntur epistolæ una cum ejusdem martyrio. Collatis edd. græcis, versionibus syriaca, armeniaca, latinis denuo recens. notasque criticas adjecit Dr. Jul. Henr. Petermann, Phil. Prof. in univ. Berolin. Lipsiæ, 1849. 565 pp. 8vo.

Q. Sept. Florentis Tertulliani apologeticus et ad nationis libri duo ex fide optimorum codicum manuscriptorum aut primum aut denuo collatorum cum adnotatione perpetua et indicibus ed. Fr. Oehler. Halæ, 1849. 454 pp. 8vo.

Lehrbuch der christlichen Kirchengeschichte mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der dogmatischen Entwicklung. Von Dr.

W. Br. Lindner. 2 Abthl.: Geschichte der Kirche mittlerer Zeit. Leipzig, 1849. 416 pp. 8vo.

Die christliche Dogmatik aus dem christologischen Princip dargestellt. Von Dr. Th. A. Liebner, Prof. der Theol. zu Kiel. 1 Bd. 1 Abthl. A. u. d. T.: Christologie od. die christologische Einheit des dogmatischen Systems. 1 Abthl. Göttingen, 1849. 389 pp. 8vo.

AMERICAN.

MESSRS. HARPER & BROTHERS have in press a new edition of Butler's Analogy, with a careful Analysis, mostly prepared by the late Rev. Dr. EMORY, President of Dickinson College, and completed by Rev. G. R. CROOKS, of the Philadelphia Conference. The volume will also contain a new Life of Butler, and a copious Index. It will be the most complete and useful edition of Butler's great work.

Messrs. Lane & Scott are preparing for publication a new edition of *Watson's Theological Institutes*, with an Analysis of the whole work, by J. M'Clintock, and a Copious Index of subjects. The Analysis has heretofore been printed in a separate form. The Index will be carefully prepared, and will be a very great convenience to the student. No work of its class, probably, has had so large a sale as *Watson's Institutes*, within the last half century.

Rev. JAMES W. ALEXANDER, D. D., was inaugurated as Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, on the 20th of November last. The subject of his inaugural address was, "The Value of Church History to the Theologian of the Present Day."

A translation of Theremin's Outlines of

Systematic Homiletics is soon to be published by Prof. Shedd, of Vermont.

We are also informed that Hase's *Kirchengeschichte* is to be translated by Prof. Blumenthal, and Rev. C. P. Wing, of Dickinson College, with modifications adapting it to the use of School and College classes.

The third volume of Prof. Torrey's translation of Neander's Church History has appeared, but we have not yet seen it.

A new edition of Dr. Robinson's Lexicon to the New Testament is in press, and will shortly be published by the Messrs. Harpers. The work has undergone a thorough revision, and will be more accurate and valuable than ever in the new edition.

We have had recently several specimens of Roman Catholic Theological Literature, of a higher rank than has before been known in this country. Among them are—*The Four Gospels*, translated from the Vulgate, and diligently compared with the Greek Text, with Notes critical and explanatory, by F. P. Kenrick, Bishop of Philadelphia. (8vo. pp. 572:)—*The Works of Bishop England*, published under the Auspices and Immediate Superintendence of the Right Rev. Bishop Reynolds, the present Bishop of Charleston. 5 vols. 8vo.:—*Christianity and the Church*, by the Rev. Chas. Constantine Pise, D.D. 8vo.

Classical and Miscellaneous.

EUROPEAN.

A NEW series of editions of the Greek and Latin Classics, to be issued under the general title of *Bibliotheca Classica*, is proposed by George Long, Esq., and the Rev. A. J. Macleane, M. A., of Trinity College, Cambridge. The works will be edited by various hands; and to secure uniformity and consistency in execution, the series will be under the united management of Mr. Long and Mr. Macleane. The first volume will be ready early in 1850; the subsequent vo-

lumes will be published at the rate of four or five in the year.

Messrs. Chambers, of Edinburgh, have published a volume on the history of "*German Literature*," by Joseph Gostick, author of the "*Spirit of German Poetry*." The latter work we have not seen: the former we deem too brief to serve readers unacquainted with German Literature, and too incomplete to be useful to those who are.

Such of our readers as desire a good classical and philological journal, will find it in the "*Classical Museum*," published quarterly, in London, at 3s. 6d. (sterling) a number. An idea of its general scope may be obtained from the contents of the Number for October, 1849, which are as follows:—I. Contributions towards a Metaphysics of Greek Syntax, by W. J. Hickie:—II. On the Verb *to Be*, and its equivalents, by F. W. Newman:—III. When did Greece become a Roman Province? (This article sets forth a view of Professor Hermann, (K. F., of Göttingen,) which will startle some readers, viz., that the generally received opinion that Achaia was turned into a Roman province by Mummius, is utterly untenable, and indeed unfounded):—IV. Remarks on Certain Passages in the Ancient Dramatists:—V. An Essay on Roman Names:—VI. An Attempt to Restore the Text and the Scansion of Homer, on an entirely New System:—VII. Miscellanies:—VIII. Notices of New Publications, &c.

The second volume of "*Die Gegenwart*. Eine Encyclopædische Darstellung der neuesten Zeitgeschichte für alle Stände," (8vo., pp. 770,) has appeared. Among the articles contained in this volume, are the following:—Corn Laws—Poland since 1831—Sporting and Game Laws—Prussia from 1841 to 1848—Nicholas I.—The Jesuits—Rossi—Louis Napoleon—Baden—Schleswig-Holstein—Belgium—Owen and Socialism, and numerous others.

The first volume of Southey's Life, edited by his son, the Rev. C. C. Southey, contains his early Autobiography, College Life, Scheme of Social Colonization for America, Visit to Lisbon, &c., carrying the life up to 1798. There will be six volumes in all, appearing every alternate month.

C. G. ZUMPT was born in Berlin, on the 20th of March, 1792, and died at Carlsbad, on the 25th of June, 1849. His principal writings and their dates are as follows:—"Die Regeln der latein. Syntax," 1814; "Aufgaben zum Uebersetzen aus dem Deutschen ins Lateinische," 1815, (5th edition, 1844;)" "Annales veterum regnorum ac populorum imprimis Romanorum," 1819, (2d edition, 1838;)" "Lateinische Grammatik," 1818, (9th edition, 1844;)" "Curtii de rebus gestis Alexandri M. libri VIII., ad fid. codd. mss. recens.," 1826, (revised edition, 1849;)" "Quintiliani institut. orator., ed. Spalding," vol. V., 1829 & 1831; "Ciceronis Verrinarum libri VII., recens., etc.," 1830 & 1831; "Ciceronis de officiis

libri tres. Recens., etc.," 1837 & 1838; "Decretum municipale Tergestinum denuo recens. et illustr.," 1837; "Ueber d. bauliche Einrichtung des röm. Wohnhauses," 1844; "Ueber d. gesetzliche Freiheit des röm. Bürgers u. die gesetzl. Garantien ders.," 1845; "De legibus judiciisque repetundarum in Republica Rom. Commentatt. tres," 1845—1847; besides various learned contributions to the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences, at Berlin.

Among the works in general literature recently announced in England, are the following:—Practice in German, Adapted for Self-Instruction; by Falck Lebahn:—The Physical Atlas of Natural Phenomena; by Alexander Keith Johnston, F.R.G.S., reduced from the edition in imperial folio, for the use of Colleges, Academies, and Families. Imp. 4to.:—Ancient Coins and Medals, with an Historical Account of the Origin of Coined Money, the Development of the Art of Coining in Greece and her Colonies, its Progress during the Extension of the Roman Empire, and its Decline as an Art with the Decay of that Power; by H. N. Humphrey, author of the "Coins of England;" with illustrations in relief. Roy. 8vo.: A Dictionary, Hindustani and English, to which is added a Dictionary, English and Hindustani, entirely new; by John Shakspear. 4th edition, greatly enlarged. 1 vol. 4to.:—Aspects of Nature in different Lands and different Climates, with Scientific Elucidations; by Alexander Von Humboldt; translated, with the author's sanction and co-operation, and at his express desire, by Mrs. Sabine. 2 vols. 16mo.:—A History of Rome under the Emperors; Book the First, "Julius Cæsar;" by the Rev. Charles Merivale, late Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. 2 vols. 8vo.:—Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers, and other Poems; by Wm. E. Aytoun, Professor of Rhetoric in the University of Edinburgh; with an Appendix, containing an Examination of the Statements of Mr. Macaulay's "History of England," regarding John Grahame of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee. A new edition, fcp. 8vo.:—A Review of the French Revolution of 1848, from the 24th of February to the Election of the First President, by Capt. Chamier, R. N. 2 vols. 8vo.:—Dark Scenes of History; by G. P. R. James, Esq. 3 vols. post 8vo.:—A History of the Papal States, from their Origin to the Present Time; by John Miley, D. D., author of "Rome under Paganism and the Popes." 3 vols. 8vo.:—Excursions in Southern Africa,

including a History of the Cape Colony, an Account of the Native Tribes, &c., by Lieut. Col. Napier. 2 vols. small 8vo., with numerous illustrations;—William Von Humboldt's Letters to a Female Friend, (a complete edition,) translated from the German by Catharine M. A. Cowper. 2 vols. 18mo.:—A Compendium of Ancient Geography, compiled from all acknowledged Authorities, and adapted to the Use of Schools; by the Rev. Samuel Doria, M. A., Head Master of Wigan School. 12mo.:—A New Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Mythology, Biography, and Geography, for the use of Colleges and Schools; by Dr. Wm. Smith. 1 vol. 8vo.

Among the works recently announced on the continent of Europe are the following:—

La Philosophie de la Liberté: Cours de Philosophie Morale fait à Lausanne, par Charles Secretan, ancien Professeur de Philosophie à l'Académie du Canton de Vaud, 2 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1849.

Divination sur les trois derniers ouvrages de Vincent Gioberti: les Prolégomènes, le Jésus moderne et l'Apologie; par C.-M. Curci, de la Compagnie de Jésus. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1144. Paris, 1849.

Deutsche Dichtung. Von Sebastian Brant (1500) bis auf die Gegenwart. Aus den Quellen. Mit Biographisch-literarischen Einleitungen, und mit Abweichungen der ersten Drucke gesammelt und herausgegeben. Von Karl Gödeke. 2 vols. imp. 8vo., double columns.

Discours sur l'histoire universelle par Bossuet. Nouv. édition collationnée sur les meilleurs textes, précédée d'une introduction littéraire, accompagnée de sommaires, de notes philolog. et grammaticales, des variantes de l'auteur, et de la chronologie des bénédictins rapprochée de celle de Bossuet, par M. A. E. Delachapelle. Paris, 1849. 12mo.

Histoire démocratique des peuples anciens et modernes, par Agricol Perdiguier, représentant du peuple. Temps anciens. Ethiopiens. Egyptiens. Hébreux (Suite.) Grecs. Tom. II. Paris, Marcel. 1849. 16mo. [To be completed in 8 or 9 volumes.]

Histoire des races humaines d'Europe, depuis leur formation jusqu'à leur rencontre dans la Gaule: par P. A. F. Gérard. Bruxelles. 1849. 390 pp. 8vo.

Allgem. Cultur-Geschichte der Menschheit. Von Gust. Klemm. 7. Bd. A. u. d. T.: Das Morgenland. Mit 6 Taf. Abbildd. Leipzig, Teubner. 1849. VI u. 526 pp. 8vo.

AMERICAN.

THE HON. CHARLES KING was inaugurated President of Columbia College on the 30th of November last. Addresses were delivered by Professor M'VICKAR and the newly elected President. In the course of Professor M'Vickar's address he expressed what seems to us the strange sentiment that the *English university system* of education should be more closely adopted than it has been, as the system best adapted to the wants of this country. We have been accustomed to entertain precisely the opposite opinion. That system is the growth of ages of aristocracy, and is, in itself, essentially aristocratic. It has done as much as even the insular position of England to make the English national mind narrow, bigoted, and overbearing. Instead of adopting it more closely, we have only to regret that so many of its features have been incorporated with our institutions.

Apropos of this subject, the *London Times*, in a late article, intended to rebut the charge

that an education at Oxford or Cambridge is beyond the reach of any but rich young men, assures its readers, on its own "experience and information, that in no single college in Oxford or Cambridge need the yearly expenses of a student exceed £100, and they are often actually brought considerably within this sum by men maintaining, in all respects, the character and position of gentlemen. The addition of another £100 a year, for personal expenses, is amply sufficient for the wants of any right-minded student during his academical career." That is to say, a "right-minded student" can get along quite comfortably at Oxford or Cambridge, in an economical way, on one thousand dollars a year!

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